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# ***Daily Report***

## **East Europe**

**FBIS-EEU-94-044  
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# Daily Report

## East Europe

FBIS-EEU-94-044

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7 March 1994

**NOTICE TO READERS:** All material in this volume previously disseminated in electronic form.  
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### Vienna Talks on Bosnian Federation Plan Open

AU0403193994 Paris AFP in English 1926 GMT  
4 Mar 94

[Excerpts] Vienna, March 4 (AFP)—Bosnian Croats and Moslems met here Friday to hammer out the details of a U.S.-sponsored federation agreement, as UN troops prepared to patrol the front lines between the two communities. Participants said the talks, which began at the U.S. Embassy, will aim for concrete results by March 15.

The U.S. special envoy for former Yugoslavia, Charles Redman, said he was optimistic. "We will have serious work and serious talks," he commented before the start of negotiations.

The Moslem-led Bosnian Government is being represented by Justice Minister Kasem Trnka. The Croats are represented by Croatia's deputy foreign minister Ivo Sanader and Bosnian Croat leader Kresimir Subak. [passage omitted]

Croatian Foreign Minister Mate Granic told journalists Friday he would probably go to Vienna this weekend to take part in the talks. He planned to continue to Moscow Wednesday to meet his Russian counterpart Andrey Kozyrev, in a bid to secure Serb participation in the project.

"Russia can play a positive role" in exerting its influence on the Serbs, Granic told journalists during a visit to the northern Italian city of Trieste, where he was taking part in a meeting of Central European foreign ministers.

The main job for the Vienna talks, according to diplomatic sources, is to work out the details of a constitution inspired by the Swiss model of autonomous cantons. There could be three cantons, the sources said; one Croat unit grouping the present self-proclaimed Bosnian Croat republic and two Moslem units in central Bosnia. The central government would have limited powers, taking charge of foreign affairs, defense and trade. Each side would take turns in holding the presidency and would hold a balance of power in the parliament.

The talks should also lay the basis for a long-term military agreement between Croat and Moslem forces, following a ceasefire which began last Friday.

In Sarajevo on Friday, UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) spokesman Major Rob Annink said the two sides had given the green light for UN troops to patrol frontlines as early as Saturday, to be accompanied by unarmed Croats and Moslems. Talks will also begin on opening up six routes across frontlines.

UN peacekeepers will be deployed immediately at the Croat-Moslem hot spots of Mostar, Vitez, Gornj Vakuf, Prozor, Konjic, and Jablanica where ceasefire violations have been rampant, said UNPROFOR spokesman Major Guy Vinet.

Bosnian Army leaders and the United Nations have also warned that more international troops were needed to

enforce the ceasefire. Brigadier-General Fikret Muslimovic of the Bosnian Army, speaking from Zenica in central Bosnia, said the UNPROFOR force was not large enough to keep the peace between Moslems and Croats, who are confronting each other over large tracts of territory. "It won't be possible," he said, "if more troops do not come." [passage omitted]

### Bosnian Delegation Leader Comments

LD0503211794 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina  
Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 5 Mar 94

[Text] Let us hear what the leader of the Bosnia-Herzegovina delegation, Justice Minister Kasim Trnka, has to say about the current talks and their continuation:

[Begin Trnka recording] As our public already knows, a preliminary agreement was concluded in Washington regarding a federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina for Bosnia-Herzegovina to transform its internal constitutional system. The federation would for the time being encompass predominantly Croat and Bosnian-populated areas, while Serb controlled areas would have the opportunity to either join the federation or join the peace process and find appropriate solutions, through which the territorial integrity of Bosnia-Herzegovina is always emphasized.

The essence lies in the fact that the constitutional system should be transformed into a new form of a cantonal type, in which federal units would be cantons and would be set up exclusively on an ethnic basis. This national element was taken into consideration. The essence lies in the fact that a number of cantons should be set up in which important state competences would be discharged. The central government would have much wider competences than envisaged by the Vance-Owen and the Owen-Stoltenberg plans. The central government's competences include the Armed Forces, foreign affairs, issues related to the monetary system, the economic market, the free flow of goods and capital, issues concerning citizenship, managing resources, and so on. This is a wide range of competences.

The second range of competences would be realized through the cooperation between the central authorities and the cantonal authorities; it would include an infrastructure shared by several cantons and cooperation in a series of other fields.

On the cantonal level, state bodies would be set up: from the assembly to the executive bodies and judiciary. Cantonal competences would cover everything that has not been enumerated on the level of central authorities and central-cantonal cooperation.

Within each canton there would be municipalities; they would have their local self-administration. A special arrangement has been agreed upon in this regard: Municipalities where the majority population is not the majority population of the canton would have a special

status, a much higher degree of autonomy than other municipalities within the same canton.

The intention of the council here is to work further on the principles laid down in the Washington agreement, initially referring to the constitution of the federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. An eventual agreement on the confederation with the Republic of Croatia should also be prepared, and then military experts should work on military arrangements and other measures should be examined with Croatia for the new constitutional order. [end recording]

#### Sanader 'Optimistic' on Deadline

AU0603150294 Paris AFP in English 1136 GMT  
6 Mar 94

[Excerpt] Vienna, March 6 (AFP)—The head of the Bosnian Croat delegation at talks here on details of a future Croat-Moslem federation said Sunday [6 March] he was optimistic they would be concluded by the March 15 deadline for signing a final agreement in Washington. Talks began here Friday after the Bosnian Croats and mainly-Moslem Bosnian government signed an initial agreement there last Tuesday to form a federation.

Delegation leader Ivo Sanader, Croatia's deputy foreign minister, said it was "difficult to say" when the new federation would actually be set up, but "the most important thing is that we have to find a solution which can satisfy the new federation and the Republic of Croatia. All of us are ready to do this."

Bosnian Justice Minister and delegation head Kasem Trnka and Bosnian Croat leader Kresimir Zubak however refused to comment on the negotiations, saying it was "too early."

One of the most difficult issues at the talks, held at the U.S. Embassy here, is how to carve up the cantons which will form the Swiss-style federation. The U.S.-sponsored plan, agreed in principle by Croat and Moslem leaders, aims to establish a federation inside Bosnia-Herzegovina made up of autonomous Moslem and Croat cantons. This would later form a looser, mainly economic confederation with neighbouring Croatia. The Serbs would be encouraged to accept a two-way division of the territory with the federation existing alongside their own Bosnian Serb republic.

U.S. officials here said Saturday they would attempt to persuade Bosnian Serbs to back plans for the Croat-Moslem federation. [passage omitted]

#### Croatian Official on Draft Constitution

LD0603230194 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 6 Mar 94

[Excerpt] A transitional committee made up of delegations of the Republic of Croatia and Muslims and Croats from Bosnia-Herzegovina continued its work today at the U.S. Embassy in Vienna. Ivo Sanader, Croatian

deputy minister of foreign affairs, has spoken to our reporter Sandra Posum Djurin. This is how Deputy Minister Sanader views the transitional committee's work:

[Begin Sanader recording] I would describe our work so far as good. We are making progress. For the time being there are no major problems. There is a fair deal of adjusting positions. It is perhaps interesting to mention that at the moment we are working on the first item, the first set of issues, namely the constitution of the future federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina between Croats and Bosniak Muslims. I believe that today or tomorrow, perhaps tomorrow, we may finalize a draft constitution.

Afterward, the preliminary confederation agreement follows between the federation and the Republic of Croatia. This is then followed by a military agreement on military organization within the federation.

The fourth item includes transitional measures for speeding up the founding of the federation and the confederation; wherever it is possible, this will include state organization as well.

These are the three sets of issues that remain to be resolved once we have finished working on the federation constitution. You know that for our part we have decided—these have always been our propositions—that the Muslims and Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina should seek reconciliation, that an end should be put to all their conflicts.

We find continuity in our policy along these lines. The fact that the world's greatest democratic power has become heavily involved in these talks testifies in practical terms to the fact that we have always followed the right and correct path. Now this transitional committee of ours is tasked with a very difficult and responsible duty, I would even say an historic task, of outlining what Minister Granic, Prime Minister Silajdzic, and President of Herceg-Bosna Zubak signed in Washington in the presence of U.S. Secretary of State Christopher in such a way as to make both sides satisfied, first in the federation, and to find a mutual interest in the future confederation. [passage omitted] [end recording]

#### Woerner Views Russians' Role in Balkan Crisis

AU0403170594 Hamburg DIE ZEIT in German  
4 Mar 94 p 4

[Interview with NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner by Christoph Bertram; place and date not given: "It Is a Tightrope Walk"]

[Text] [Bertram] Mr. Woerner, you have always advocated determined action by the West in the Balkans. Does the recent measure correspond to your ideas of energetic action?

[Woerner] It is a first and, as I believe, very useful step, which, however, must be followed by others. Military

action is not a purpose in itself. The goal must remain, and that is improving the safety of the people—in all parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina—and contributing to a peaceful agreement among the parties.

[Bertram] The military intervention by NATO may have started some movement in this respect. Do you think that further military steps by the West are necessary?

[Woerner] For me, it is not military steps that are in the foreground but the political efforts—and at all levels: at the level of the United Nations, then at the level of the two big powers United States and Russia, but also at the level of the NATO members. These political steps will, however, be successful only if they continue to be accompanied by the determination of taking military measures when necessary and wherever nothing else helps. In this respect, our primary concern in NATO is that we do not gamble away the reputation we have gained by precipitate and insufficiently planned operations. We are engaged in some sort of tightrope walk here.

On the one hand, the stimulus must not be lost. We must use it. What we have done in Sarajevo must not remain a unique operation. On the other hand, what is done now must be planned just as thoroughly and must then be implemented with equal determination—perhaps with different methods.

[Bertram] Sir Michael Rose, the UN commander in Bosnia, is calling for more ground forces. He needs an additional 3,000-5,000 blue helmets just to stabilize the situation in and around Sarajevo. What are the prospects of getting these 3,000-5,000 men from the NATO countries?

[Woerner] I fully sympathize with General Rose and he has my support—first, for the determined way in which he is acting and second, for his demand for more troops. However, I do not see where they are supposed to come from at the moment. I get the impression that our member countries, which are already providing the majority of troops there, are very restrained in this respect.

[Bertram] If there is something like a private opinion of the secretary general, who is German: Are you convinced of Boon's arguments that German soldiers must not or should not get more actively involved in peacekeeping in Bosnia?

[Woerner] My personal opinion: Most of these arguments have not convinced me. I have never considered the constitutional argument correct, and the other arguments must be weighed carefully. However, I would be very restrained about using German ground forces in areas where German troops operated in World War II. This applies in particular to the areas where we are dealing with Serbs. This is a necessary consideration.

[Bertram] There are also other possibilities....

[Woerner] There are other possibilities, in which I would recommend to be more generous.

[Bertram] If the West does not send any more troops, will then Russia not be virtually invited to jump into the breach? How do you assess Russia's role in this conflict?

[Woerner] One will be able to come to a final assessment of Russia's role only when it is clear how the Russians themselves define their role. I hope very much that they do not understand themselves as the Serbs' protective power but as a power that is trying to tackle the problem impartially.

[Bertram] Do you welcome the presence of Russian troops in Bosnia?

[Woerner] When some people complain today that Russia is becoming active there, I do not share this view at all. First, I think it is unavoidable. Second, I even think it is helpful since it has been done with the intention of making the Serbs give in. I believe that we have to include the Russians in such a way that they continue to use their influence in the spirit of a solution that is acceptable for all parties.

[Bertram] And what if they do not let themselves be included? Does Moscow then have a veto right?

[Woerner] It is out of the question that Russia is going to gain a certain influence on the actions of NATO. We have done what we considered appropriate and correct, following a decision by all our member states, and we will continue to do so. We are ready and interested in cooperating with the Russians and also in consulting them. However, the Russians are not a member of NATO. And just as Russia has interests, this also applies to NATO. One must not confuse Russia's welcome role as a participating big power with a right to veto NATO actions.

[Bertram] The West has for a long time hesitated about getting militarily involved in the Balkans. Is NATO now irrevocably involved—after the ultimatum and after the enforcement of the flight ban?

[Woerner] I think so. This was unavoidable anyway; this just had to come. This is also part of NATO's tasks in our time. We are the only functioning collective defense alliance in the world. We are the central factor of stability for all of Europe. One cannot just claim this role, but one must make a specific contribution in situations of crisis. We have done this and we will continue to do so.

[Bertram] Do you sometimes ask—perhaps with a bit of bitterness—why action was taken only now? What could have been avoided if action had been taken earlier?

[Woerner] Here I once again answer as Manfred Woerner and not as secretary general. I do indeed ask myself this question—more and more every day. My own conviction was and is: Timely intervention would very probably have prevented an expansion of the conflict and would have facilitated a political solution. At least, now we have taken determined action.

**'Flagrant' Shooting Incident on FRY Border**

*AU0503202394 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 5 Mar 94*

[Text] A flagrant incident occurred at the border with Yugoslavia. The Public Order Ministry spokesman reports that at about 1335 today another flagrant incident happened in Pogaj village in Has District, near border marker D/7.

A Yugoslav border unit, accompanied by dogs, opened fire toward two Albanian children who were guarding their cow, without going beyond the border line, but close to it. As soon as the shots were heard, the commander of our border post, together with a soldier, left immediately. But with no warning at all, the Yugoslav post of Goruzhup, in former Yugoslavia, opened fire against our border guards, who were 100 meters away from the border line and approximately 350 meters away from their post. Soldier Saimir Pal Zefi from Mirdite District was wounded from these very sudden shots.

This is a very flagrant event because there was not even the slightest provocation or pretext from our part. Our member of the joint local commission for solving border incidents and representatives of EC observers mission went immediately to the scene of the incident.

The Public Order Ministry strongly protests these criminal and unjustifiable acts that are increasing day by day.

**Ministry Condemns 'Irresponsible Acts'**

*AU0603192294 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1735 GMT 6 Mar 94*

[Statement issued by the spokesman for the Foreign Ministry on 6 March; place not given—read by announcer]

[Text] As reported, on 5 March 1994 in Pogaj village in Has District, near border marker D-7, 100 meters into Albanian territory, 20-year-old soldier Saimir Pal Zefi from Mirdite District was wounded by fire from the Yugoslav border post of Goruzhup.

The Foreign Ministry of the Republic of Albania strongly protests this act by Yugoslav border forces, which is another flagrant and revolting act with open anti-Albanian aims. This act refutes the demagoguery of statements and memorandums of the Yugoslav side, which blame Albania for the incidents on the border between both countries as well as for the so-called lack of alertness of the Albanian side to resolve problems between them.

The wounding of the Albanian soldier yesterday increased the number of the Albanians killed or wounded on the northern border to 22 people, when no Serb has been wounded or killed by Albanian border forces.

Such criminal acts, both in the past and now, are premeditated and are committed at a time when the

international community is engaged in resolving, peacefully and through dialogue, the conflicts that have broken out in the former Yugoslavia and preventing them from expanding to other areas. These acts are committed to increase tension on the border between both countries, to consequently increase the level of insecurity and tension in the Balkans by instigating situations with unprecedented consequences, and to accompany the intensified movements of the Serbian Army on the border with Albania and within Kosova.

Such acts, along with the murder of an Albanian by Serbian soldiers on the Kosovar-Macedonian border, the trial fabrications against Albanians, and the closure of the Academy of Sciences and Arts of the Republic of Kosova, complete the tableau of the Serbian policy of genocide and oppression against the Albanian population in Kosova and the methods of pressure and political and military blackmail by Milosevic against the Albanian state.

Albania protests such irresponsible acts and, before the world public, again denounces the provokers of such dangerous situations, who are the same authors of the bloodshed in the former Yugoslavia, the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the ethnic cleansing, and the massacres against the simple people.

**Socialist Party Requests To Rally Refused**

*AU0703114194 Tirana GAZETA SHQIPTARE in Albanian 4 Mar 94 p 1*

["p.re." report: "Unclear Situation on the Threshold of the Nano Trial—'No Illegal Rally'—The Socialist Party Asks Court for Help"]

[Text] Tirana—The refusal of the request by the Socialist Party [PS] to hold rallies is going to the Constitutional Court. Luan Shaholli, chairman of the PS Management Committee for Tirana, commenting on the police's negative response to the rally planned for today, hoped that the Constitutional Court will now issue a pronouncement on the "repeated violations of the law by the police." Thus, on the day before the trial of Fatos Nano, a day that the PS Management Committee has declared "a day of nationwide protest against violations of basic human rights and freedom," the party's leaders are obliged to issue an appeal not to organize "illegal activities." Nonetheless, "we will continue to demand permits for rallies, even though we have hitherto been given arbitrary refusals," PS Deputy Chairman Servet Pellumbi said. Meanwhile, the Public Order Ministry issued a statement the day before yesterday laying particular stress on incitements to illegal assemblies just before the Nano trial and warning that it "will use the force of the law against anyone who attempts to exert pressure against Albanian justice."

The public announcement of today's gathering in Skenderbeg Square first appeared in the pages of the Socialist newspaper ZERI I POPULIT. However, the PS leaders say that the replies from the Public Order

Ministry and from the capital city's First and Second Police Commissariats refusing permission for this rally came on Tuesday [2 March]. "Concerning the 4 March rally, we will act according to the law," Luan Shahollari told GAZETA SHQIPTARE, "but we will also denounce these negative replies in our press." According to Shahollari, the publication of the negative replies from the police would be more than enough to contact the people who had earlier been informed about the rally to be held in Skenderbeg Square. Meanwhile, PS Deputy Chairman Servet Pellumbi said that people interested in the rally would in the normal course of events realize that permission for it had been refused because "the rally can only take place if the people organizing it appear and make their speeches." Pellumbi said that requests to hold this rally will be repeated every day, regardless of refusals, but he again appealed, "Our guideline is to always behave in accordance with the law, thus avoiding all kinds of confrontation."

While the police have now refused permission for the rally in Tirana, PS management committees in many other districts have asked for identical rallies in their respective towns. "As the PS Management Committee decided," Pellumbi said, "almost all districts have made requests to hold peaceful assemblies, but we still have not been informed in which towns they have been approved." Meanwhile, the Public Order Ministry spokesman has denounced the PS and its newspaper for "continually issuing calls for and inciting illegal assemblies on the threshold of the trials of Fatos Nano, Ramiz Alia, and the other blockmen [former Albanian Workers Party leadership]."

The Public Order Ministry had meanwhile guaranteed order, calm, and stability to the judiciary in its work, also warning that "All those breaking the law will answer to the law, whoever they may be."

#### **Hoxha Supporters, Former Security Men Arrested**

AU0503171194 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 5 Mar 94

[Text] The Public Order Ministry spokesman reports that on the eve of the trial of former Prime Minister Fatos Nano yesterday, despite warnings by the Public Order Ministry, former Interior Minister Gramoz Ruci mobilized groups of Enverists [Enver Hoxha followers] and former State Security officers and tried to create conflicts among the people in the cities of Berat and Kucove and in some other centers.

With the same scheme, too, former State Security officers as well as leaders of the former Labor Party and the Socialist Party tried to destabilize public order in

Tirana yesterday afternoon. The police took legal measures by apprehending several of them. The situation in Tirana is very quiet today and the trial is being held normally.

#### **Shkoder Journalists Protest Assault on Zefi**

AU0703114694 Lezhe KOHA JONE in Albanian 4 Mar 94 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Shkoder Cannot Become a Fortress of Crime and Corruption—Journalist Gjergj Zefi Assaulted"]

[Text] The journalist Gjergj Zefi, former editor-in-chief of the newspaper LAJMETARI and now deputy editor-in-chief of ALEANCA and deputy chairman of the Democratic Alliance's National Assembly, was hit above the eye by a solid object at the entrance to the lane where he lives at about 2000 on 2 March. This act came after continual threats against this journalist after his articles denouncing corruption and crime in Shkoder. The Shkoder Branch of the Association of Professional Journalists issues the following statement:

#### **We Will Write Again Against Those Trying To Turn Shkoder Into a "Fortress" of Crime and Corruption**

We Shkoder journalists express our deep indignation and protest at the barbaric act against our colleague Gjergj Zefi on the evening of 2 March. This happened precisely at a time when unrestrained attacks are being launched against our free press and especially against opposition and independent newspapers. The state's attacks against us have alternated with attacks by hooligans who are nothing but paid mercenaries. This has especially happened in Shkoder, where we may also place on record the assaults some months ago against the journalist Alban Kraja, director of LAJMETARI. Other oblique threats against other journalists of our association culminated in the ambush in the dark of the journalist Gjergj Zefi, currently deputy editor-in-chief of ALEANCA, at the entrance to the lane where he lives. We also note that the attacks against Gjergj Zefi come from two quarters. On the one hand, there is the procurator, the investigator, and the state, who bring him to court over his articles and statements in newspapers. All this is in order to threaten and gag the brave journalist Gjergj Zefi, whose articles have denounced crime and corruption in Shkoder. This is also in order to gag all of us, so that we will not mention what is happening. Nevertheless, we once again express our determination not to falter on the road on which we have embarked but to courageously denounce corruption and crime, in order not to allow Shkoder to be turned from a bastion of democracy and culture into a fortress of crime, terror, and corruption, as those who ordered the assault on our colleague Gjergj Zefi would wish.

**President Meets With Georgia's Shevardnadze***LD0603133594 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1200 GMT 6 Mar 94*

[Text] Georgian President Eduard Shevardnadze made a brief stopover in Prague today on his way to an official visit to the United States. More from our reporter David Stahlavsky.

[Stahlavsky] Vaclav Havel received the Georgian president for an approximately hour-long meeting at Prague Castle and welcomed this opportunity to discuss bilateral relations. For example, Georgia will open an embassy in Prague that will also deal with other Central European countries. For its part, the Czech Republic will open a Consulate General in Tbilisi, and both diplomatic representations will be preparing a system of treaties to secure wider cooperation. At their meeting, both presidents exchanged their views on the situation in Georgia, which is being troubled by civil and ethnic war, in Russia, and in other parts of the world. [passage omitted]

**'Full Understanding' Reached***LD0603185594 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1700 GMT 6 Mar 94*

[Excerpts] Eduard Shevardnadze, the highest Georgian representative, stopped over in Prague briefly on his way to the United States. He was received at Prague Castle by President Vaclav Havel. The two statesmen then briefed journalists in detail about their hour-long conversation. Our correspondent David Stahlavsky, who was there, reports:

[Stahlavsky] President Vaclav Havel welcomed the possibility to have talks, albeit brief ones, with the chairman of the State Council of this Transcaucasian country. Apart from bilateral Czech-Georgian relations, they also discussed the situation in Georgia itself, which is being troubled by a civil war and wars among various ethnic groups, and about the situation in Russia and in the Euro-Asian region. [passage omitted]

Vaclav Havel stressed:

[Begin Havel recording] We have promised that, as a nonpermanent member of the Security Council, we would support such resolutions that will promote peace in Georgia and in the entire region and the special development of Georgia as an independent state. [end recording]

[Stahlavsky] In this regard, Eduard Shevardnadze admitted that he considered it necessary to explain to the president of the Czech Republic, which is a nonpermanent member of the UN Security Council, Georgia's attitude toward the conflict in Abkhazia and to ask for support for a just solution to the conflict that is now coming to a head.

After the talks between Havel and Shevardnadze, the Georgian leader noted that full understanding has been achieved. The chairman of the State Council of Georgia

also noted that, without the decisive participation of Russia, as a permanent member of the Security Council and the great neighbor of Georgia, peace in his country and in Abkhazia will not be achieved. Shevardnadze and Yeltsin [as heard], however, have found mutual understanding on the question of the Abkhazian conflict.

It was for these reasons that Georgia joined the CIS in October 1993. [passage indistinct]

The reasons were, as the highest Georgian representative said, the close economic relations with Russia, without which independent Georgia cannot exist. [passage omitted]

**Milan Uhde Discusses NATO, Integration***AU0403164394 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 24 Feb 94 pp 1, 14*

[Article by Nada Adamickova: "Belgium Is Concerned About NATO's Operation"]

[Text] Belgium has always strived to ensure that the North Atlantic Alliance functions well and, therefore, tries not to complicate its work. Although, on the one hand, it wants to open up this structure, it is, on the other, concerned that this step could complicate its operation.

This statement was made by Ch. F. Nothomb, chairman of the Belgian Parliament's Chamber of Representatives, in response to a question from his Czech counterpart, M. Uhde (Civic Democratic Party), concerning the prospects for the development of the security structures. Nothomb added that the Western European Union is an excellent base for "the eventuality that has not yet arisen. Only after its shortcomings have been eliminated can the issue of its expansion come onto the agenda." The chairman of the Chamber of Representatives, in this context, asked M. Uhde whether the trend toward incorporation into European structures is the stance of the government majority alone or whether it is also the view held by the opposition. Uhde declared that this is the majority opinion, with the exception of part of the opposition.

On Wednesday [23 February], during his official two-day visit to Belgium, the chairman of the Czech Parliament also met other deputies and senators. The two sides exchanged information on the functioning of a constitutional system. Deputies from the Benelux Interparliamentary Council, during their meeting with the Czech parliamentary delegation, expressed their confusion about the Czech Republic's attitude toward Visegrad. They commented on the fact that, while Hungary, Poland, and Slovakia support cooperation within the Visegrad Group, the stance of the Czech Republic is somewhat reserved. The Czech Parliament representatives said in response to this that our country has nothing against bilateral agreements; nevertheless, it is not enthusiastic about the formation of broad structures.

**'We Must Not Provoke the Russians'**

AU0403205894 Prague DENNI TELEGRAF in Czech  
28 Feb 94 pp 1, 3

[Article by Chamber of Deputies Chairman Milan Uhe:  
"An Important Objective Is To Not Provoke the Russians"]

[Text] During its visit to Luxembourg and Belgium, the Czech Republic Chamber of Deputies delegation had many interesting experiences, was asked probing and astute questions, and, in turn, asked about many things and found out a great deal. However, an impromptu oral survey conducted in the delegation evinced, among extremely stimulating ideas, the following observation from one of our foreign colleagues: The Partnership for Peace [PFP] is the only feasible chance for you Czechs, Slovaks, Hungarians, and Poles. You surely understand that we must not provoke the Russians.

I explained to him and to other people who showed an interest that we accept the PFP and that we understand it: States that are politically, economically, and militarily undeveloped cannot be immediately incorporated into NATO. We did not expect immediate admission, just a guarantee of the prospect that the doors have not been closed to us, that they will not be closed, and that admission depends, first and foremost, on us, on our readiness, maturity, and resolve.

Provocation is a feeble policy, and, in politics, it is rightly regarded as desperate. I am opposed to anyone being provoked, and I understand that the Russians would not like it if security structures were to evolve in Europe without them as if they were oriented against them. The PFP leaves the development of these structures wide open because the situation is still evolving in all of the postcommunist countries, and, therefore, it would not be prudent to anticipate the outcome of development and make premature and definitive decisions.

However, it would be equally ineffectual not to do anything that could provoke the Russians. This means something that would only seem like a provocation. I remember the touching tragicomic attempt in 1968 by the reform communists not to provoke Moscow. Reproaches for the so-called ill-considered anti-Soviet excesses in the democratized mass media dragged on into the private discussions of the 1968-ers long after the occupying tanks had been on our territory. A renowned professor was still saying 10 years later that the caricatures in LITERARNI NOVINY were partly to blame.

Masaryk [Tomas Garrigue Masaryk] dealt with a similar rebuke in his monograph on Havlicek [Karel Havlicek Borovsky]. Palacky [Frantisek Palacky] and Havlicek were certainly closer to him than Sabina [Karel Sabina 1813-77, radical writer] and Fric [Josef Václav Fric 1829-90, radical politician], yet he rejected Palacky's explanation that the military intervention against Prague in 1848 was provoked by the irresponsible radicalism of

the people on the barricades. If Palacky has based his political concept on foundations that could have been torn up by the provocations of foolhardy people, they are such weak foundations that it is impossible to take them seriously, commented the future Czechoslovak president.

If a politician or group of politicians in Europe relies on the supposition that, if there is no provocation, everything will turn out all right, he is terribly mistaken. Every devotee of the Yalta ideal of an eternally valid division into spheres of influence and of the philosophy that whoever has influence ascribed to him has the right to regard everything that repudiates it as a provocation will interpret every departure from authentic political conduct of a free state as a weakness.

We know well this way of thinking; the Czechs and other nations have experienced it firsthand. It is time to emphasize again what has obviously not been stated clearly enough until now: Every state in Europe will have as much influence as it can achieve by its internal democratic arrangement, its application of the principles of a law-governed state, and its observance of human rights; to sum up, by showing respect for the freedom guaranteed by a market economy, freedom crowned by spiritual and cultural symbolization.

Influence based on anything else—for instance, on the threat of countermeasures if the small postcommunist states acknowledge the European values that NATO was set up to defend—is like beating a tattoo on old drums. I hope that Czech policy will always put up stiff resistance to this. I am absolutely convinced that it will not be alone.

**Foreign Minister Discusses 'Partnership'**

AU0703112594 Prague REFLEX in Czech No 10  
28 Feb 94 p 11

[Interview with Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec by Bohumil Pecinka; place and date not given: "Will the Russian Bear Creep Up on Us?"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Pecinka] It seems that participation in the Partnership for Peace [PFP] initiative is a condition for our entry into NATO but not a guarantee of our admission. Who will be the judge, the one who says the Czech Republic is ready to join the Alliance? Are there any criteria at all?

[Zieleniec] I do not think it is possible to set any criteria because we have entered into the very sensitive area of Europe's future security structure. If you were to set criteria, you would now be saying: You, yes and you, no. Mind you, it is possible to visualize very precisely who is capable of fulfilling which criterion. On the other hand, if the program is formulated politically—that is, provided it is oriented toward forging political ties between the Alliance and individual states—the countries that can and want to will come closer to NATO, and vice versa. I would also like to say that NATO's expansion is

a process in whose quality we should also be interested. It must also be in our interests to ensure that the Alliance does not lose its quality. Too much opening up could mean that states that could become a source of instability could be integrated within the Alliance.

[Pecinka] Soon after President Clinton's visit to Europe, it became apparent that there are, to say the least, two interpretations of the PFP. The Central Europeans are thinking about the fastest possible and individual admission into NATO. On the other hand, Russia views this initiative as the first step toward the transformation of NATO, which will ultimately incorporate all of the postcommunist states at the same time....

[Zieleniec] It is clear that everyone interprets a given political fact according to his own interests. I do not think, however, that Russia's voice will be the decisive one here.

[Pecinka] What, then, will be decisive?

[Zieleniec] The security situation in Europe. Look, unforeseen security developments in East Europe could mean that NATO may try to provide security for the buffer zone and rapidly expand toward the east. On the other hand, if slower development were to act as a stimulus for stabilizing democracy in Russia, rather than for confrontation with the West, this would also be worth taking into consideration. I think the NATO countries will come up with a solution with two alternatives, which is a classic example of political tactics.

#### Defense Official on Deployment in Yugoslavia

AU0403130794 Prague CESKY DENIK in Czech  
1 Mar 94 p 2

[Interview with Jaromir Novotny, director general of the Foreign Relations Section of the Czech Ministry of Defense, by Jiri Stastny; place and date not given: "Jaromir Novotny: The Reinforcement of UNPROFOR Units Was a Russian Initiative"]

[Text] Because of developments in the former Yugoslavia, where the Czech Republic has a strong military representation, and the unexpected entry of Russian politics to this region, we asked Jaromir Novotny, director general of the Foreign Relations Section of the Czech Ministry of Defense, a number of questions.

[Stastny] Does our policy of reinforcing the Czech units follow some long-term objective, and when will the name of our officer who has been appointed commander of the South Sector units be published?

[Novotny] Our Republic was officially requested to commission an officer to assume command of the South units on 30 April 1994. The officer's name will be released as soon as the appointment is approved by the appropriate UN bodies. I believe that it shows an appreciation of the work of our soldiers in UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] and recognition of the fact that our

battalion has operated in the region since the beginning of the conflict. At this time, we have in Yugoslavia a chief of staff, Taichman, whose work is highly valued.

[Stastny] Did the reinforcement of Russian units to double the original strength take place at the request of the UNPROFOR command, or did the initiative come from the Russian side?

[Novotny] According to my sources, the Russian side offered its units, and the UNPROFOR command accepted the offer. All of the other activities, including the transfer of Russian units to other territories, are conducted at the request of the command. I believe that these units are subordinated to the UNPROFOR command like all of the others. This body expressed its agreement to their transfer to the Sarajevo region and, as far as I know, additional paratrooper units have also been offered, but that is a matter for UNPROFOR to comment on.

[Stastny] Have you been consulted regarding Minister Baudys's initiative?

[Novotny] At the time this idea was taking shape, I was abroad—with our soldiers in Serbian Krajina. Moreover, a subordinate cannot assess the work of his superior.

#### No Plan To Apply for EU Membership

LD0403170794 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1100 GMT 4 Mar 94

[Text] The Czech Republic does not intend to apply officially for admission to the European Union [EU] in the coming months. This was announced by foreign Ministry spokesman Vit Kurfurst. He added that the Czech Republic will apply when conditions for its successful integration into this structure have been achieved.

Speaking about Hungary's decision to officially apply for full EU membership, which was announced in Budapest yesterday, the spokesman said that this is a sovereign decision, and the Czech Foreign Ministry will not comment on it in any way.

#### Klaus Criticizes Austria for Temelin Lobbying

AU0403174094 Vienna KURIER in German  
4 Mar 94 p 5

[Article by Hans Rauscher: "Austrian Aggression"]

[Text] Where did Vaclav Klaus learn the news first?—in KURIER. In an interview in Prague on Thursday afternoon [3 March], he was taken aback by the postponement of the decision on a loan of the U.S. ExIm Bank valued at billions [currency not specified] for the completion of Temelin [nuclear power plant]. "I have not yet heard that. This is questionable information," said the Czech prime minister (who speaks fluent German and, of course, English).

Now the crisis between Prague and Vienna has become even further aggravated. Klaus, an unreserved advocate of the market economy, does not understand why the Austrians and his counterpart, Vranitzky, want to torpedo a project that he regards as necessary for the—very good—economic development of the Czech Republic. Apparently, the Austrian intervention in Washington has now been temporarily successful after all. This provoked a harsh reaction from Klaus: "Whether these are three or eight deputies out of 480—this is not enough for me. This is also not enough for me after such aggressiveness from the Austrian side."

"This Austrian reaction is really impossible for me. The completion of Temelin is absolutely necessary for us, and all reasonable Austrians within and outside the government know that. Nevertheless, they are playing this card for the election campaign."

But is the government not making allowances for a real concern of the population? "As it happened, I was skiing in St. Anton, and I saw an opinion poll on ORF, according to which the three most important topics for the Austrians are pensions, full employment, and crime, but not Temelin. I do not believe that Temelin is something that the Austrians have deep in their heart. It is rather a political matter and is connected with the elections."

But what about relations between the Czech Republic and Austria? "Normal daily relations between Austria and the Czech Republic, between hundreds, thousands, and millions of people, will continue completely normally, without any deterioration, which may only take place on a large-scale political level, where the political card is played."

It is often heard from the Czechs that the Austrians want to keep them in tutelage. "This is not a question of pride; it is a question of wrong arguments on the Austrian side. What alternative have you proposed to us? You proposed investments for your firms, which are often owned by the state and subsidized (transformation into gas power plants—the editors). This was not a gift; it was only state-organized lobbying for Austrian investments in our country. Austria's proposals are not so innocent, and the Austrian politicians should not pretend to be so innocent."

Should Austria have been more tactful? "The question is put in an absolutely wrong way. The construction work in Temelin has already progressed very far. The decision was not new, and this should be taken into account. The other question is: The ecological catastrophe for us is northern Bohemia, with the coal power plants, not southern Bohemia, with nuclear power."

It is said in Austria that it is intended to export electricity from Temelin in order to improve the Czech balance of payments?

"We do not need to improve the balance of payments. It is active. We told Austrian politicians a hundred times—no, we are not building Temelin for electricity exports—but no one wants to hear or understand that."

Apparently Vaclav Klaus really feels misunderstood. What is his wish for relations with Austria? The answer is characteristic of this strict liberal:

"We are moving very quickly to a free society, a free market economy, and an open society. Therefore, we expect the same of others who had the advantage that they did not have to live under communism for 40 years. I mean opening up not only in the field of economy but also in a wider sense."

#### **Air Force Faculty Opens at Brno Academy**

AU0403154794 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech  
2 Mar 94 p 2

[Article by "(ivh)": "An Air Force Faculty Has Opened in Brno"]

[Text] Brno—A new Air Force and Air Defense Faculty was opened yesterday at the Military Academy in Brno. According to the Academy's spokesman, Major Pavel Pazdera, pilots, aircraft technical specialists, and airfield servicing staff will be trained at the faculty. Graduates receive an electronic-based education that can also be applied at civilian airports. The faculty's establishment comes as a result of the reorganization of the Academy and of the requirements for training aircraft specialists for the Czech Army. The only military Air Force college in the former CSFR was in Kosice.

**Kovac Views Trade Relations With Poland, PFP**

*AU0403140994 Warsaw POLSKA ZBROJNA in Polish  
3 Mar 94 pp 1-2*

[Interview with Slovak President Michal Kovac by Jan Forowicz; place and date not given: "We Have Avoided Social Tension and Strikes"]

[Excerpts] [Forowicz] When will Polish-Slovak relations shape themselves in the way they should in view of our geographic and linguistic proximity? Poland's involvement in Slovak trade is barely 2.4 percent. When will all of the declarations be implemented about improving this state of affairs and about the desire for cooperation?

[Kovac] I am sure that this has already begun. My first historic visit—and I do not hesitate to describe it thus—to Warsaw at the invitation of President Walesa in January was the first step that brought very concrete results. I also spoke to politicians and economists. Among other things, I visited the Polish Business Center Club in the Lubomirski Palace, where you have your officers' club.

When one bakes bread, one starts with the dough. Poland is the first partner with which we have developed genuinely practical cooperation in combating economic crime.

Fourteen Polish-Slovak deals are waiting to be signed by Prime Minister Pawlak during his visit to Bratislava, which has been scheduled for April. These mainly involve an intensification of cooperation, but one of them is an agreement on avoiding double taxation and another deals with the protection of investment. [passage omitted]

[Forowicz] The present process of democratization does not make it easy for our countries to appear as stable countries worthy of quickly joining Western security structures.

[Kovac] It is quite normal for countries such as ours to have to adapt themselves. But, if we want to join NATO soon, we must show that we are a partner that one can depend on. It is essential to show that a potential NATO member has no quarrels with its neighbors and is pursuing a stable domestic policy. It is worth underlining how important it is for our countries' image to have such initiatives as the Visegrad Group, a group of countries that are friendly toward one another and are trying to tighten their cooperation.

[Forowicz] What universal message would you have for the soldiers and politicians concerned with the defense capability of Poland and Slovakia?

[Kovac] The armies of both of our countries are also experiencing a period of change. Nevertheless, they are presenting their countries' defense potential.

Unfortunately, a situation has arisen in which the Army reforms must take place at a time of a shortage of funds.

Added to this are the costly commitments brought on by Partnership for Peace [PFP].

Everything requires a lot of discipline and patriotism and an ability to extract the maximum effect from relatively meager funds. That is why we need excellent and rational leaders now more than ever. We need military men who speak foreign languages. Leaders are required who set an example of professional conduct to the people under their command. Thanks to people with such qualities, I expect each of our armies will strengthen its morale.

**Meciar on Decisions of HZDS Council**

*LD0503201094 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica  
Slovensko Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 5 Mar 94*

[Excerpt] The Republican Council of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] held a session in Trnava. Its members discussed preparations for early parliamentary and local elections and elected new officials of the Movement's council. The final briefing was attended by newly elected Chairman Arpad Matejka and HZDS Chairman Vladimir Meciar. Peter Toman, representing our Radiozurnal, interviewed them.

[Begin recording] [Toman] Mr. Chairman, what in your view are the most important conclusions reached at today's session of the Council?

[Meciar] In substance, a decision was made to form working groups to work on the final draft of the Movement's program—that is, our election program—which we expect to turn subsequently into our government program.

The other important thing was the election of the bodies of the Council: new Chairman Arpad Matejka and new Deputy Chairman Zlocha. Mr. Mihalik continues to be the secretary. They were elected by secret ballot in several rounds.

The third thing I consider important is that the strategy of two options has been more or less drafted: either to go three times to election ballot boxes—i.e., a referendum and major elections and small elections [not further explained]—or just to have the two elections. These issues were drafted and agreed upon, and I think that everybody is [word indistinct] going to work on them.

[Toman] Did you discuss preparations for local elections, too?

[Meciar] Yes, the selection of candidates and coalition strategy is a matter for local bodies. [passage omitted] [end recording]

**Roman Kovac Expelled**

*LD0503210494 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in  
Czech 2000 GMT 5 Mar 94*

[Text] Deputy Arpad Matejka has become the new chairman of the Republican Council of the Movement

for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS]. He is replacing Roman Kovac, who has been expelled from the HZDS. This decision was made by the leadership of the ruling movement in Trnava today.

Vladimir Meciar indicated that he was striving to add another party to the government coalition. However, he did not say which party he had in mind.

#### **Opposition Leader Criticizes Government Actions**

LD0403212694 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica  
Slovensko Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 4 Mar 94

[Excerpts] [Announcer] The second meeting this year between 13 journalists and politicians took place in Bratislava today. These meetings are being organized for the third successive year by the weekly SLOBODNY PIATOK [FREE FRIDAY]. In place of the traditional one invited guest, today's meeting was attended by five guests, who were representatives of nonparliamentary political parties: the Social Democratic Party of Slovakia [SSDS], the Christian Social Union [KSU], the Party of Conservative Democrats [SKD], and the Party of the Green in Slovakia [SZ]. They were represented by their leaders Jaroslav Volf [SSDS], Jan Klepac [KSU], Pavol Hagyar [SKD] and Jozef Pokorny [SZS]. The Hungarian Civic Party [MOS] sent its deputy chairman Janos Toth. Our editor Ludmila Bulakova prepared for us a digest of this debate, which lasted over an hour.

[Begin recording] [Bulakova] [passage omitted] Mr. Klepac [KSU], what would your position be if you were in government?

[Klepac] I think it is necessary to gather enough courage and draw a line behind the past, but it should not be a line that prevents us from talking about the past. [passage omitted] It is necessary to say everything so that the citizens know why the lustration law [passed by the former federal authorities as a vetting system for the highest administrative, legislative, and executive posts] is valid but not applied, why the assets of the communist party have not been dealt with, why companies and state organizations are still being chaired by former exponents of the past regime, and other issues.

Mr. Meciar promised when he assumed power that he would release a so-called white book on what happened in Slovakia. I am surprised that this white book has not yet seen the light of day. [passage omitted]

[Bulakova] What about you, Mr. Toth?

[Toth] I think that the minority issue is not isolated and cannot be isolated from the social and economic dimension wherein it exists. It is imperative to deal with the Slovak social and economic problems; otherwise, there could be a total collapse of the economy. Needless to say, the social consequences of such a collapse would be incalculable. [passage omitted] [end recording]

#### **Slovak Political Right Parties Merge**

LD0503210394 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica  
Slovensko Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 5 Mar 94

[Excerpt] Two hundred delegates of the Conservative Democratic Party-Democratic Party [KDS-DS] held their constitutional congress in Bratislava today. Their aim was to finalize the merger of these two nonparliamentary parties of the political right. Correspondent Oto Goerner interviewed Pavol Hagyar, the newly elected chairman of the party.

[Begin recording] [Hagyari] The constitutional congress decided the name of the new party. Three names were proposed: the Democratic Party; Conservative Democratic Party-Democratic Party, a double-barrelled name; and the Party of the Democratic Right. The first proposal was given a clear majority, which means that, as of today, we are to be called the "Democratic Party." I am convinced a new, strong party of the right is being created, which in the last elections attracted 10 percent of the voters. We are convinced the same will be the case at the next elections that may be held very soon.

[Goerner] Is it not a paradox that there are some parties splitting in the present climate while the KDS and the DS merge?

[Hagyari] It is also a question of political foresight. If the Civic Right failed in the last elections because it was split, if we can learn from our own mistakes and from the mistakes of the Polish right, then we are left only with merging into one political spectrum with more right-of-center nonparliamentary parties. [passage omitted] [end recording]

#### **Chairman of New 'Democratic Party' on Goals**

LD0603202294 Bratislava STV 1 Television Network in Slovak 1830 GMT 6 Mar 94

[Excerpts] The "Democratic Party" is the name of the new political entity that came into being as a result of a merger of the Conservative Democratic Party and the Democratic Party. The merger took place at a two-day congress that ended in Bratislava today.

The Democratic Party unites the former membership base of the Civic Democratic Union, the Democratic Party, the Civic Democratic Party of Slovakia, Democrats 92, the Czech-Slovak Understanding, and the Green League. Pavol Hagyar has become chairman of the Party. We asked him what the merger means:

[Begin Hagyar recording] The merger of the civic right wing that is taking place today and the early parliamentary elections will make it possible for the civic right wing to get into parliament and, possibly, even into the government. [passage omitted]

We are interested in solving the economic crisis. We are interested in solving the political crisis as soon as possible. Politics must return to where it belongs—to the

citizens. We are interested in solving the actual problems of real citizens, and our policies are like those of the West European countries, like those of parties similar to ours. The basic thing is a fast and thorough transformation—clean and clear privatization, the creation of resources, and the consequent solving of the problems of unemployment, living standards, criminality, health care, and education. [end recording]

#### **Court Favors Government on Legislation Delay**

*LD0503114794 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica  
Slovensko Network in Slovak 0600 GMT 5 Mar 94*

[Text] The government did not breach its duties vis-a-vis the Constitution of the Slovak Republic, the statement by the Press and Information Department of the Slovak Government office says. This statement has been passed to the Slovak Republic News Agency in connection with the decision of the Slovak Constitutional Court

regarding the proposal put forward by 38 deputies to the National Council [of the Slovak Republic], requesting that proceedings be launched in the matter of interpreting the provisions of the Constitution. The deputies' request concerned the action taken by Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar, who, on 1 March of last year, returned the bill on the state budget and the changes in social security laws to the parliament to be debated the second time around. Meciar justified this by saying that putting these laws into effect and, in particular, paying out state supplements on child benefits would make the state budget short 3.7 billion korunas. From the ruling passed by the Constitutional Court decision, it transpires that those responsible for the delay [in passing the bill] are the deputies from the Christian Democratic Movement, the Party of the Democratic Left, and other deputies, who refused to debate the bills, although it is their duty, the statement by the Press and Information Department of the Government office says.

### Former U.S. Envoy Urges Support for Kuklinski

WS0403145894 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish  
4 Mar 94 p 23

[Article by Sylwester Walczak from New York: "Former U.S. Ambassador in Warsaw to Clinton: Support Kuklinski"]

[Text] Richard T. Davies, former ambassador of the United States to Poland, recently sent an open letter to U.S. President Bill Clinton. In the letter, Davies requests intervention in the case of Colonel Ryszard Kuklinski.

Davies suggests that Clinton bring up the issue of Kuklinski's rehabilitation during his visit to Poland, scheduled for July. "I hope that you might draw President Walesa's attention to the irony of the fact that the Pole, who before 1989 risked his life to help NATO, officially remains a traitor and is liable to imprisonment, whereas the leaders of today's Poland boast of its participation in NATO training and insist upon full membership in this organization," writes Davies. He emphasizes the "striking anomaly" that, in the case of the people who were sentenced earlier for treason, such as Spasowski, Rurarz, and Najder, the sentences were waived, but the charges against Kuklinski still stand.

Davies recalls his earlier pleas defending the colonel, when he made an appeal published in THE WASHINGTON POST, and in letters to senators and congressmen, in which he suggested that Kuklinski's rehabilitation be the preliminary condition for Poland's admission to NATO. Kuklinski himself objected to such a proposal at that time; he claimed that he attaches greater importance to Poland's security, and, therefore, he would not like this issue to even slightly impede Polish efforts to become a member of the organization.

"Now the situation has changed," notes Davies. Poland has joined the "Partnership for Peace," which is supposed to lead it to NATO. For this reason, the president of the United States, Poland's partner in this program, has a chance to repair the evil by "persistently insisting" that the same criteria applied in the cases of Spasowski, Rurarz, and Najder be applied to Kuklinski.

However, the Office of the President of the Polish Republic states that each of the three ways to rehabilitate Colonel Kuklinski—extraordinary appeal, another trial, or an act of clemency by the president—requires that he take the first step; this is because—Davies quotes a letter from the Belweder—the public debate that took place in Poland in 1992 did not provide any final answer to the question of whether Kuklinski deserves to be called a contemporary Wallenrod [heroic character in Polish literature], or simply a foreign spy.

Davies foresees two obstacles that Clinton may encounter in making an intervention in the case of Kuklinski. The president may decide that this problem is

too minor to affect the good atmosphere of U.S.-Polish relations in any way; or he may decide that it is an internal Polish affair.

However, due to what Kuklinski did for the West, NATO, the United States, and the freedom of his own country, he really deserves strong support of the United States, argues Davies. Apart from that, he is now a U.S. citizen and the U.S. authorities should be concerned about his good name.

### Russian Foreign Ministry Criticizes Walesa

LD0403195094 Warsaw TVP Television First Program  
Network in Polish 1830 GMT 4 Mar 94

[Relayed by Warsaw TV Polonia Network]

[Text] [Announcer] The Russian Foreign Ministry has protested against statements made recently by Lech Walesa regarding the excessive concentration of Russian troops in the Kaliningrad area.

The Ministry's representative, Mikhail Demurin, declared that what the Polish president had said during his visit to Latvia was not conducive to stability in the Baltic region and was an affront to the spirit of Polish-Russian agreements.

On 24 February, during an official visit to Latvia, President Lech Walesa said that the excessive concentration of Russian troops in the Kaliningrad district was not beneficial to security in the Baltic region.

[Reporter] The Kaliningrad district belongs to Russia, and everything that happens there is an internal matter for the Russian Federation, said Deputy Foreign Minister Sergey Krylov, commenting on Lech Walesa's statement.

The spokesman of the Russian Foreign Ministry, Mikhail Demurin, added that Russia had the right to keep within the Kaliningrad district as many troops as was necessary to ensure security. According to Deputy Minister Krylov, President Walesa is well aware that many Russian soldiers are in the district temporarily. This situation arose when troops were withdrawn from the Baltic countries, and it was impossible to relocate them in other regions of the country.

The Russian diplomat believes that by his statement Lech Walesa wanted to please the Latvians. According to experts, there are at present 150,000-200,000 Russian soldiers stationed in the Kaliningrad district.

### Russian Foreign Minister on Bilateral Relations

AU0703115094 Poznan WPROST in Polish  
6 Mar 94 pp 55-56

[Interview with Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev by Maria Graczyk in Krakow on 23 February: "Miracles of Diplomacy"]

[Text] [Graczyk] The declaration signed by the presidents of Poland and Russia in Warsaw says that Poland's membership in NATO is a question of a sovereign decision by Poland itself. Yet a few weeks later, Boris Yeltsin sent a surprise letter to Western leaders, calling on them not to expand NATO. Why was the Russian president's behavior not consistent with the declaration?

[Kozyrev] Maybe because he did not read the declaration very carefully. We diplomats are accustomed to studying every single document with painstaking care, but non-diplomats tend to skim them. The things we are saying today are contained in the Russo-Polish declaration. In conformity with the CSCE, we believe that any decisions reached by Poland are an expression of that country's freedom of choice. The Polish state defines its own needs and expectations, and takes sovereign steps in this or that sphere. It also decides whether to take part in the work of various international organizations.

However, the declaration says nothing about Russia, an independent state just like Poland, not having the right to present its own ideas, especially on how fast the European security system is to be established. Just as we believe Poland may decide freely on whether to join NATO, we believe that there is no point in hurrying to join NATO. There is nothing inconsistent about that.

[Graczyk] In that case, what do you mean by the expression "Russia's special interests in this part of Europe"?

[Kozyrev] The Russians and Poles have historical links. We share a border in the Kaliningrad Oblast, and we both belong to the Baltic Cooperation Council. The very creation of this council is proof that both countries share common interests. One reason for this, of course, is that both of our countries border on the Baltic Sea, to say nothing of our cultures and economic relations.

Minister Olechowski presented me with a Russo-Polish economic cooperation program. That is also evidence of special ties between our countries, stemming from a desire to develop cooperation in particular spheres. But that does not mean that we have imperialist longings or a desire to dominate others or indulge in diktat, and I am sure Poland does not want to dictate an economic policy to us. It would not be fair to interpret Minister Olechowski's speech in such a way, even though he did mention a special interest in cooperating with Russia. By the way, Russia's "special interests" do not apply only to Europe. They also apply to other parts of the world—for example, Mexico.

[Graczyk] Poland is also interested in other eastern neighbors, including Ukraine and Belarus. How do you assess Polish diplomatic moves in this region?

[Kozyrev] As a great power, we value ourselves too highly to develop an inferiority complex. On the other hand, we respect democratic Poland too much to detect any Polish neoimperialism in such positive aims as economic development or political and cultural cooperation with CIS countries. Although I myself am sometimes accused of

harboring neoimperial tendencies, I cannot say the same about my Polish friend and colleague.

[Graczyk] Differences of opinion between Poland and Russia on security in this part of Europe are well known. Both you and Minister Olechowski have declared a rapprochement of views since the Krakow meeting.

[Kozyrev] Our perspectives are undergoing constant modification. It would be naive to think that, with the speed of change today, the declarations of any one politician will continue to be valid in 10 years' time. That would be a miracle of diplomacy. Therefore, every hard-pressed diplomat reacts to his surroundings, shifting the balance in his views and adjusting his stance.

Minister Olechowski and I are keeping a close eye on what is happening around us. We also listen to each other and take each other's views into consideration—hence, certain nuances and changes of opinion. But, basically, we agree that a common Europe has to be built together by means of dialogue. But one should not make hasty and unpremeditated decisions that could turn out to be inconvenient for one side or the other. We must all continue to work on this. One cannot expect miracles in diplomacy.

#### Ukrainian Envoy To Issue Appeal for Lysenko

LD0503175294 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1620 GMT  
5 Mar 94

[Text] Warsaw, 5 Mar—Ukrainian Ambassador to Poland Gennadiy Udovenko announced at a news conference today that there would be an appeal to the Supreme Court against the verdict on Ukrainian Security Service Major Anatoliy Lysenko, accused of spying for Ukraine.

In the ambassador's view, the verdict of the court is unjust because neither Lysenko nor the Ukrainian Security Service carried on spying activity to the detriment of Poland. He treats the detention of Lysenko as "the activity of influential circles that are acting against the reconciliation of the two states." The ambassador expects that "in democratic Poland, justice will prevail."

Udovenko revealed that the Ukrainian embassy had held secret talks on the Lysenko case with 15 influential personalities in Polish political life. The Ukrainian side was concerned that the case did not worsen mutual contacts. He said that, *inter alia*, the visit of the State Protection Office [UOP] head to Ukraine had not yet ensued on account of the trial.

The ambassador expressed thanks to Lysenko for "endurance and patriotism, and for not agreeing to be recruited by the UOP." The major himself, present at the news conference, told journalists that he was blackmailed and encouraged to change his citizenship, and to pass on state secrets to the Polish side.

### Daily Views Sejm Debate on Budget

WS0403131594 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish  
4 Mar 94 pp 1-2

[Article by Eliza Olczyk and Jerzy Pilczynski: "Continuation and New Elements; Budget Debate in Sejm"; two tables with data on state budget revenue and expenditures for 1992-94 not included]

[Text] *On Saturday [5 March], the Sejm will vote on the Budget Law, on principles of monetary policies, and on a resolution on increasing state revenues. Sejm Deputy Wieslawa Ziolkowska presented the results of work that went on for more than two months concerning the government's budget draft, on behalf of the Economic Policies, Budget, and Finance Commission. She recommended that the budget draft be adopted, even though she was also quite critical of it. According to the government, budget expenditures are supposed to be 696.1 trillion zlotys [Z] and budget revenue Z613 trillion, whereas the budget deficit should not exceed Z83 trillion.*

The commission implemented only minor revisions to the draft.

### Critical Report

All proposals for increasing budget revenues and expenditures were rejected. Sejm Deputy Ziolkowska stressed that, in the commission's view, the budget proposed by the government allows neither for improving the efficiency of reforming and restructuring the economy, nor for a slowdown of regression trends regarding meeting basic social needs.

Ziolkowska reported on the commission's doubts regarding too optimistic assumptions contained in the draft concerning economic growth, a fall in inflation rates, export increases, and a too cautious evaluation of budget revenues. She also stressed the commission's critical remarks regarding excessive figures resulting from an assessment of sums of money devoted to the reimbursement of income taxes (Z24 trillion), and also an insufficient figure indicating revenue from the lump-sum tax [podatek zryczaltowany]—just Z7 trillion. The commission was also critical of the way of financing the domestic debt, which had been suggested by the government. Sejm Deputy Ziolkowska devoted much of her speech to social expenditures. These are planned to be Z46.5 trillion, which, among other things, will make it impossible to pay about 400,000 social assistance benefits—that figure is higher than last year, when there was not enough money for 250,000 of those entitled. Real [after accounting for inflation] expenditures on social assistance will drop by 4 percent.

### Little Room for Maneuver

The way the report was presented, which included Ziolkowska's subjective views, aroused critical remarks during the subsequent debate. [Acting Finance] Minister Henryk Chmielak also engaged himself in polemics

regarding some of Ziolkowska's arguments. He admitted that the government budget draft cannot satisfy everyone, but he also stressed that the government's room for maneuver was restricted very much by factors like high unemployment levels, high costs of servicing the domestic and external debts, and disadvantageous demographic changes. These prevented the government from changing expenditure levels in many fields. But an increase in the sources of budget revenue is becoming a new trend. This should make it possible to achieve a 5-percent increase in those sources, or perhaps even higher than that. At that point, one will be able to think about increasing the expenditures.

### Argument With Polish National Bank [NBP]

Sejm Deputy Waldemar Michna of the Polish Peasant Party [PSL], while presenting a report on the work of the commission regarding the principles of monetary policies in 1994, stressed two significant changes: increasing the money supply from Z155 trillion to Z169 trillion, and the possibility of the NBP's financing the budget deficit in the amount of Z35 trillion (instead of the Z30 trillion the NBP wanted to see.) NBP Chairwoman Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz did not rule out the possibility of increasing the money supply, but only by Z2 trillion at most. Michna also made an appeal to the Sejm deputies not to change the level of financing the budget deficit by the NBP because that could lead to decreasing the banks' profits and a resultant decrease of the state budget revenue.

Apart from the draft of the Budget Law and the principles of monetary policies, Sejm deputies also debated a draft resolution coming from Sejm deputies that would oblige the government to seek additional possibilities of increasing the budget revenue that cannot be pinpointed right now, and to present them to the Sejm in midyear.

Sejm Deputies Mieczyslaw Czerniawski of the Democratic Left Alliance and PSL's Franciszek Stefaniuk, who spoke on behalf of their respective Sejm deputies clubs, declared their support for the budget. Both presented the difficult situation that is a legacy from the previous governments—that situation made it impossible to implement radical changes in the process of planning budget revenue and expenditures. They also stressed such positive aspects of the budget as the fact that its goal is acceleration of economic growth, a fall in inflation, a more just distribution of the burden of the impact of economic transformations, efforts to bring public finances to their health, an increase of financial means devoted to promoting exports, the introduction of investment-related breaks, and so forth.

Sejm Deputy Hanna Suchocka of the Democratic Union [UD] accused the governing coalition of refusing to fulfill the promises they had made during the election campaign, and also of being inconsistent in continuing the reforms. She also criticized the government for what is only a marginal implementation of the "Agreement on

State-Owned Enterprises." She announced that the UD Sejm Deputies Club will not support the budget.

The same kind of declaration was made by Ryszard Bugaj of the Union of Labor. He listed five reasons: dubious macroeconomic assumptions, insufficient budget revenues (by about Z30 trillion), a too restrictive monetary policy, lack of rationalization with regard to budget expenditures, and a mistaken concept of privatization.

At the end of Thursday's debate on the budget, Ownership Transformations Minister Wieslaw Kaczmarek also engaged in polemics with critics of privatization. He said companies are impatient and tired "of waiting for more seals of approval, which are supposed to give them the right to undertake the risk of an economic game." He added that the Finance Ministry has already prepared a draft concerning the introduction of a so-called transaction fee, but one cannot assume that taxing income derived from the stock market will save the budget. The introduction of the fee must be preceded by a thorough analysis and linked to an increase in the supply of shares, and it must also take capital market development into account.

#### **Sejm Passes Budget Law**

LD0503111494 Warsaw PAP in Polish 0917 GMT  
5 Mar 94

[Text] Warsaw, 5 Mar—The Sejm has adopted the 1994 budget law with 289 votes for, 115 against, and 27 abstentions. In a vote on the assumptions of the monetary policy for the year 1994, 286 deputies voted for, 97 were against, and 44 deputies abstained.

The Sejm has also adopted the law to increase the national income. There were 332 deputies for and 59 against; 33 abstained.

#### **SLD Ousts 4 for Voting Against Budget**

LD0503154894 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in  
Polish 1300 GMT 5 Mar 94

[Text] Four deputies of the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] who did not adhere to the whip applied by this parliamentary club in the vote on the budget [today] and voted against the law have been deprived of their membership in the club. These deputies are: Piotr Ikonowicz, Andrzej Lipski, Cezary Mizejewski, and Sranislaw Wisniewski [sitting, respectively, for the Lublin, Warsaw, Warsaw, and Warsaw multimember constituencies]. There are currently 167 deputies in the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] parliamentary club in the Sejm.

#### **Union of Labor's Bugaj on Sociopolitical Scene**

PM0703111794 Szczecin GLOS SZCZECINSKI in  
Polish 22 Feb 94 p 5

[Interview with Ryszard Bugaj, Sejm deputy and Union of Labor chairman, by correspondent Bohdan Onichimowski; place and date not given]

[Text] [Onichimowski] Acting on a recommendation submitted by the Union of Labor, the Sejm recently rejected the president's projects of new constitutional act. Does that mean that you have provoked a new "war at the top"?

[Bugaj] It is true that the Sejm acted on our recommendation, although I had mixed feelings about it because, in my opinion, the main difficulty was that the president's initiative could have delayed the progress of the ongoing work on the new Constitution. I believe that we must have a new Constitution in good time before the presidential election, but the president appears to think otherwise. On the other hand, as regards the "war at the top" question, I think that such a war could indeed be waged, but not necessarily for the above-mentioned reason. If the president were to stand at the head of the dissatisfied masses, could lead a war against the parliamentary majority, but that war would not necessarily be directed against us because we too dislike the policies of the present government.

[Onichimowski] It is said that four fundamental areas in the life of a state are crucial for its existence and survival. Let us try to evaluate the current state of affairs in each of these areas. The first of them is external security.

[Bugaj] The situation here is not felicitous. In the past year, we have noted unmistakable attempts to rebuild elements of Russia's imperial policies and a far-reaching skepticism on the part of our Western partners as regards the chances of their involvement in any operations designed to protect our security. I do not want to say that they are doing nothing at all in that direction, but they are certainly most restrained, if not reticent. Of course, there is no immediate reason to sound the alarm: The situation is far from wonderful, but it is not overly dramatic, either. Everything is still in our hands: We can and should decide ourselves whether our state is to be internally strong and cohesive, whether our citizens can be satisfied with their government and their parliament, and whether our economy is capable of producing surplus resources with which to finance adequate national defense so that we can rest safely in the knowledge that the situation in that area is not deteriorating.

[Onichimowski] The second sphere of concern is our internal security.

[Bugaj] Here a very considerable deterioration took place over the past years. Some people believe that this should be counteracted primarily by building up the numeric strength of our police force. Unfortunately, this will require substantial funds, but we should shape our policies so as to restrict and eradicate the root causes of social pathology. After all, we do not have enough resources to provide three policemen to patrol every street corner and enough police presence to watch every house in every area. The causes of the mounting incidence of crime are to be found in the widening gap between different groups' financial circumstances, and also in the growing unemployment.... It is no accident

that people can walk everywhere in perfect safety in the streets of Scandinavian cities.

[Onichimowski] The rising incidence of tuberculosis in our society is not a favorable reflection on our successive governments' record in the area of health protection, is it?

[Bugaj] In this respect, we are, in my opinion, on the eve of the introduction of a substantial and much-needed reform, which, however, is still waiting to be put into practice.

[Onichimowski] Instead, there has been much discussion about it for many years now....

[Bugaj] I agree with you: Much is said, and nothing happens. All that is happening at present is that the health service's budget is being reduced, money is being taken away from vital health services, and there are no visible signs of progress in organizational actions or the construction of a rational financial system for the sector. I find the present situation deplorable. It is most probably being continuously compounded by the repeated changes of health ministers and by the fact that we still have no public-service system, which would go on working and discharging its duties regardless of the constantly changing political configurations.

[Onichimowski] And, finally, the fourth sector. It is paradoxical that the standards of education, the unrestricted availability of cultural goods, and the general level of civilizational development attained under the Polish People's Republic was instrumental in overthrowing that regime, whereas our new sociopolitical system has brought a pronounced regression in all of these areas.

[Bujak] If we are to discuss the realm of culture, we must admit that in certain areas state patronage was far from rational: It was geared a little too obviously to the promotion of specific ideological messages. Unfortunately, the state's withdrawal from its patronage role has been too drastic. On the other hand, education definitely needs funds urgently, and that money must be found somewhere. I believe that, regardless of the reasons for the present state of affairs, we have already moved past the worst depression in this area, and there is some hope that the situation will gradually improve.

[Onichimowski] To conclude, let us touch on a subject close to your own heart: privatization. What do you think of the proposal to recall Deputy Bogdan Pek from his post of chairman of the Sejm Commission for Ownership Transformations?

[Bugaj] I am emphatically against this idea. Even if Deputy Pek has at times been clumsily "undiplomatic" in his attempts to investigate the truth and counteract the pathological phenomena that abound in the field of privatization, he has nevertheless demonstrated real integrity and determination in uncovering such

instances and battling against them. If he were to be recalled, it would be a symbolic act pointing clearly to the Sejm majority's intention to cover up for and protect those guilty of suspect practices. From what I know of the privatization process, there is much questionable activity associated with it, so we should stop viewing it entirely theoretically and instead begin taking pragmatic action. We certainly need to increase parliamentary control over these processes.

[Onichimowski] Thank you for talking to us.

#### **UD-KLD Decide To Merge, Form New Party**

*LD0603173294 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1700 GMT 6 Mar 94*

[Text] At the Democratic Union [UD] special congress that ended today, the delegates decided to merge with the Liberal Democratic Congress [KLD] and set up a new party.

The UD congress adopted several resolutions. The issue of strikes announced by Solidarity gave rise to controversies. In the end, a resolution was adopted saying that this action would not bring the public lasting benefits but could lead to destabilization of the economy.

In another resolution, the UD congress objected to the policy pursued by Waldemar Pawlak's government of centralizing administration and restricting the sovereignty of local self-government.

The congress protested against actions that strike at the independence of the National Broadcasting and Television Council. Tadeusz Mazowiecki remains leader of UD. He will probably also be the leader of the new group.

#### **Solidarity Outlines Nationwide Strike Protests**

*LD0703143994 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1000 GMT 7 Mar 94*

[Text] The Slupsk heat and power generating plant and the timber enterprise in Slawno are the first to join the Solidarity nationwide protest action announced for today.

Solidarity National Commission Spokesman Piotr Zak told us that strikes could also start in other parts of Poland. The strike that is just starting will circulate to cover selected regions, industries, and enterprises. The nationwide strike will take place in the metal and mining industries and on the railways.

The Solidarity spokesman, who was the guest of the morning program on Radio Lodz, said that the railways would go on strike on Thursday or Friday. If the strike on the railways is repeated, only freight trains will be stopped. Piotr Zak also said the the Solidarity power industry section decided that state administration buildings and enterprises owing money to the power industry will be the first to have their electricity cut off.

**Government Reshuffled; Defense Minister Replaced***AU0603152894 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 6 Mar 94*

[Text] [Announcer] A ceremony took place at Cotroceni Palace today in the presence of Romanian President Ion Iliescu. The four ministers who have been newly appointed to the Vacaroiu cabinet through Decree No. 26 of 6 March 1994 took the oath during the ceremony. Here is the text of the document that Dan Nastase, head of the Presidential Chancellor's Office, read at the beginning of the ceremony:

[Begin Nastase recording] Decree on release from and appointment to the position of minister:

In accordance with Article 85, Paragraph 2; Article 94, Paragraph C; Article 99, Paragraph 1; and Article 105 of the Romanian Constitution, and taking into consideration the proposals advanced by the prime minister for a government reshuffle, Romania's president decrees the following:

Article 1: Petre Ninosu, minister of justice; Niculae Spiroiu, minister of national defense; George Ioan Danescu, minister of interior; and Paul Teodoru, minister of transportation, are released from their position as members of the Romanian Government.

Article 2: The following persons are appointed to the position of members of the government: Iosif Gavril Chiuzebaian, minister of justice; Gheorghe Tinca, minister of national defense; Ioan Doru Taracila, minister of interior; and Aurel Novac, minister of transportation.

The document is signed by the president of Romania Ion Iliescu [end recording]

The four ministers read and signed the oath, an event that was followed by President Ion Iliescu's act of signing the required protocol. The head of the Romanian state then made the following speech:

[Begin Iliescu recording] Mr. Prime Minister, Ministers: We have carried out a natural constitutional act in our political life upon proposals advanced by the prime minister, by taking into account reasons connected with the actions and efficiency of the government's activity and on the basis of consultations with the political formation that is supporting the government. Thus we have carried out this reshuffle.

The new element that appears in the structure of our government is in line with a more general practice in other European countries, namely, a civilian is appointed to the helm of the Ministry of National Defense.

This is our debut in this practice, although we have had a civilian minister at the head of the Ministry of Interior in the period following the December 1989 revolution. I

believe that the proposals and thus the changes that followed will bring about the necessary moving spirit to improve activity.

I would also like to thank the ministers who have carried out their activities and their duties so far for their work. Each of them individually will receive a new assignment. Mr. Spiroiu will represent us at Brussels and will continue implementing the measures required by the Partnership for Peace. Mr. Danescu, in his capacity of a professional, will remain the major assistant at the Ministry of Interior in work aimed at modernizing this ministry. Paul Teodoru will assist the new minister in fulfilling his duties for a while, although the transfer is not so complicated considering that Mr. Novac has worked in the leadership of the ministry and will receive assignments from the government. As far as Mr. Ninosu is concerned, as long as he is healthy he will receive new assignments.

I would like to ask the new ministers to approach with utmost seriousness the problems that the government and the respective ministries are currently facing and to take over the duties incumbent on them in the shortest time possible. We should establish a united and cohesive team in the government to continue the complex and difficult program for this year's activity. This is an essential year for the reform as a whole and for the economic reform as a central goal of the government. Actions that started last year will be finalized and those actions will have to lead to a certain curbing of inflation, the stabilization of the national currency, and a certain stabilization of economic life in general.

There are also a number of actions necessary to improve activity in all the other areas, the affected ministries, and the important sectors, where the processes of consolidating state institutions will make new steps forward.

I would like to wish for success in the mission for the new ministers and the government as a whole. [end recording]

[Announcer] Senate President Oliviu Gherman, Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu, and Viorel Hrebenciuc, general secretary of the government, attended the ceremony. Prime Minister Vacaroiu introduced the new holders of the four ministerial portfolios.

**Vacaroiu Introduces New Ministers***AU0603161594 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 6 Mar 94*

[Text] During a ceremony at Cotroceni Palace today Prime Minister Vacaroiu introduced the new holders of the four ministerial portfolios.

[Begin Vacaroiu recording] As you well know, the examination of the possibility for a government reshuffle lasted for quite a long time and created a number of problems in the operation of the executive. Eventually, together with the ruling party, the PDSR [Social Democracy Party of Romania], we reached the conclusion that

in the current very difficult stage, in practical terms it would be best to have a monocolor government team which includes PDSR representatives and some experts. As I mentioned before, we mainly thought that the government team should include highly qualified people and good organizers who are able to implement the reform program for 1994, which is a very complex program.

At the same time, we also took into consideration the practice in most countries and the recommendations of the Council of Europe regarding the appointment of civilians, people with high professional qualifications, to the helms of two ministries, the Ministry of National Defense and the Interior Ministry.

For example, we chose Gheorghe Tinca, who, as you know, has occupied the position of state secretary with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He is a lawyer by profession. He worked on disarmament issues for a very long time with the United Nations. At the same time, he is a person of integrity, with good professional training.

Doru Taracila, currently vice president of the Senate, will occupy the position of minister of interior. He is also a lawyer by profession, with a good training, and a person whom we believe will bring a new moving drive in the activity of finalizing the reform process. But in a primary and very delicate area, we believe Mr. Taracila will carry out a much more intensive activity to fight crime and corruption in Romania together with Mr. Danescu, who will continue to occupy the position of secretary of state and will be deputy interior minister.

Our nomination for the position of justice minister, a nomination accepted by Romania's president, was Mr. Chiuzebaian. He is also a lawyer by profession, currently president of the Lawyers' Union of Romania and general inspector in the Ministry of Justice. We believe that he has the necessary qualifications to continue what we have started with Senator Ninosu in this area of reform of the legal system, and we hope that in a very short time he will succeed in finalizing this reform and, at the same time, to lay a new basis for the functioning of prosecuting magistracies in provinces.

We proposed Paul Novac for the position of minister of transportation, a proposal also accepted by Romania's president. Mr. Novac currently holds the position of secretary of state in the Ministry of Transportation. He is a fine expert. He has held positions at various levels in the respective specialty, he has managed to fulfill his duties correctly, and we believe that in this very difficult ministry, due to the variety of activities that it has to coordinate, he will succeed in fulfilling his duty and giving a new impetus to the reform process in Romania.

These are the four nominations that we have submitted to President Ion Iliescu. Following the analysis carried out in these past days, these nominations have been accepted, and here we are. Today this acceptance took concrete shape in the appointment of the new ministers.

I extend them heartfelt wishes for success and, first, I wish to say that I am convinced that they will adjust very rapidly and we will succeed in establishing a competent government team that is capable of implementing the program of reform, which, as I have already mentioned, is a very difficult and complex program. At the same time, however, it is a program expected by the population, because its goal is to end the current crisis, to reduce inflation as much as possible, and to create an adequate framework that will allow for the improvement of people's standard of living.

In conclusion, I want to express the hope that the political forces represented in parliament and trade unions will be at our side and will support the new government team in this difficult period. Thank you. [end recording]

#### Iliescu on New Government Formula

AU0603212694 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 2000 GMT 6 Mar 94

[Text] After the Cotroceni Palace ceremony in which the newly appointed ministers took the oath, President Iliescu, in a statement made at the request of journalists, said that initial discussions referred to certain circumstances and to a certain pact with the parties that are included in the so-called government arc. New elements appeared in the relations of the PDSR [Social Democracy Party of Romania] with those parties, including a new context of negotiations for a new political climate and the possibility of establishing a broader framework of parliamentary cooperation, which does not mean inclusion in government.

Ion Iliescu noted that these negotiations were assessed as interesting, constructive, and capable of opening up a new stage in the development of political life which would grant more substance to the joint efforts of all political parties.

Asked by one of the journalists to reveal whether in the near future the establishment of a government team with the parliamentary opposition is possible, President Ion Iliescu said that in a democratic system, regardless of participation or nonparticipation in the government, all political forces are in one way or another drawn and absorbed into the joint effort to achieve the country's reconstruction.

In a democratic practice, Iliescu said, the opposition has a constructive role, even when it is very virulent and aggressive toward the ruling party, and it makes a useful act of active political and social criticism.

Romania's president further said: I believe that we can enter a stage of normality, of civilized and constructive dialogue, which will serve everybody. A government with the opposition is another question that presumes other steps to achieve a possible platform for unity in a broader government team. It would not be wrong to achieve such a thing, said Ion Iliescu, who added that he

has always been open to such a formula. This presupposes a better platform and he will follow the current talks between the PDSR and the other parties. Ion Iliescu also said that he believes that before talking about a government coalition, it is necessary to achieve a platform through agreement.

#### **PNTCD Leader Comments on Changes**

*AU0703124894 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 7 Mar 94*

[Text] We view the current government reshuffle as a continuation of the crypto-communist government and the choice of the date of 6 March was a mistake, Corneliu Coposu, president of the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party [PNTCD], said today at a news conference of this political formation.

Referring to the changes made, he emphasized that the PNTCD views the appointment of a civilian at the helm of the Army as inopportune and that General Nicolae Spiroiu's replacement will exert a negative effect, while the presence of Iosif Gavril Chiuzbaian as head of the Ministry of Justice could be beneficial.

Insofar as the replacement of the other ministers is concerned, in the opinion of the PNTCD this looks like a change of cadres.

Keeping the prime minister in his position, Coposu continued, proves that the ruling party is trying to avoid parliament control and to postpone early elections.

In conclusion, Coposu specified that the PNTCD believes that the reshuffle has not contributed to the consolidation of the government nor has it ensured its stability at home and abroad.

We want to recall that Coposu made a similar statement during an earlier program this morning. In addition, the PNTCD leader said that he hopes for a positive conclusion of the current negotiations between the Social Democracy Party of Romania [PDSR] and the other political formations, so that by the beginning of summer a viable government may be formed that is able to cope with the current crisis situation. If this is not the case, then early elections are the only solution.

#### **Foreign Ministry Rejects Aim of Moldovan Poll**

*AU0703100394 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 0900 GMT 7 Mar 94*

[Text] We have received for publication the text of the following press communique from the spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs:

Statement by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs: As is known, on 6 March 1994, in a sociological poll initiated on the basis of a presidential decree of 4 February 1994, the citizens of the Republic of Moldova were called upon to answer the following question:

Do you want the Republic of Moldova to develop as an independent, united, and indivisible state within the borders of the date of the proclamation of its sovereignty, 23 June 1990, a state that will promote a policy of neutrality, maintain mutually advantageous relations with all world countries, and guarantee equal rights to all its citizens in accordance with the norms of international law?

The poll was explained through the absolute need to stabilize the sociopolitical and economic situation, create favorable conditions to strengthen the independence of the Republic of Moldova, and ensure its territorial integrity.

For us, it is only an exercise of testing public opinion and we will treat it as such. We note, however, the tendency of certain forces to unilaterally and generally view it as a firm answer to a question to which only history has the right to provide an answer. It is regrettable that these forces continue to make efforts to win political capital and to exacerbate Romaniaphobia.

At this time, too, we very firmly reject such attempts to distract public opinion from the real problems and causes of the situation in the Republic of Moldova and from the real threats to its independence.

Romania was the first state to recognize the independence of the Republic of Moldova, to which it has granted and continues to grant its entire political, diplomatic, and moral support to contribute to its affirmation at the international level.

The Romanian Government has pledged to grant material assistance for the benefit of all the citizens of the Republic of Moldova to overcome the difficult times generated by the economic and social difficulties they are confronting.

Romania will continue to support the consolidation of the independence of the Republic of Moldova and will work toward economic integration of the two Romanian states and toward strengthening our common cultural and spiritual area, the press communique of Romania's Ministry of Foreign Affairs concludes.

#### **Authorities Deny Refugee Talks With Germany**

*AU0603171694 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 6 Mar 94*

[Excerpts] Germany will soon send thousands of refugees from Serbia, Montenegro, and Kosovo to their home countries, the German weekly DER SPIEGEL affirms in today's issue. [passage omitted]

In connection with the aforementioned information, our editorial office contacted the office of the Romanian foreign minister and has learned that nothing is known about the negotiations that the leadership of the German border guards allegedly had with Romanian authorities.

Likewise, contacting the office of Romania's interior minister, we were told that no such talks have taken place between the leadership of the German border guards and Romanian authorities on this issue.

#### Foreign Ministry Official Views 'Partnership'

AU0703093994 Bucharest AZI in Romanian  
1 Mar 94 p 3

[Interview with Ambassador Virgil Constantinescu, general director of the General Directorate for Security and Euro-Atlantic Integration of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, by Alexandra Dragoi; place and date not given]

[Text] [Dragoi] What does participation in the 'Partnership for Peace' program mean for Romania?

[Constantinescu] By participating in the 'Partnership for Peace' program and trying to get completely involved, Romania is pursuing its integration into NATO structures. It views this program just as an initial stage, bearing in mind that there are difficulties, both logistical and over the incompatibility of our military systems. The application of this accord needs time and problems will probably surface as we go along; nor do its initiators have a clear image of what it should include.

Romania was particularly interested in this initiative for its comprehensive nature, because it does not draw a new demarcation line in Europe. We were the first country to sign this document. Now we are at the stage of preparing a document to consist of two parts: one linked to the political aspect—the continuation of the economic and democratic reform process, observance of the CSCE norms, the transparency of the military doctrines—and another linked to the military aspect, namely to offers in the military area. Linked to this aspect, by the end of the year a first elite battalion, including volunteers, will be made available for peacekeeping actions. Its training will be complex and will include English-language lessons. The individual 16 plus 1 Partnership Program is being worked out in Brussels; it will represent the foundation of cooperation among NATO's partner states. Joint exercises will also take place.

Romania also wants to capitalize on the advantages in the political area that participation in this accord offers, such as settling the differences of opinion that mark relations with Hungary. One of the conditions is to solve the disputes that still exist; it being viewed as a "historic reconciliation." True, no guarantees for security are offered like those offered by NATO, but a mechanism is established for consultations should problems of that kind emerge; the given state has the possibility of approaching the Alliance.

We should not forget that Partnership for Peace has an economic aspect, namely partnership for development, offering access to NATO programs in such areas as: the conversion of the defense and weapons industry for peaceful purposes, research in the military area, and assistance in the case of nuclear accidents or calamities.

Now all states are in the same position; after this program is launched, however, changes will occur, particularly because the resources of the participating states are different. Partnership means substantial expenses for ensuring the compatibility between our own army and NATO's army; this will require special financial efforts, especially since we have the lowest military budget per capita. Consequently, the economic aspect is very important and probably certain facilities will be granted in the future; in any case, the military budget has to be transparent.

#### Communique Denies Iliescu Role in Petromin

AU0403190094 Bucharest DIMINEATA in Romanian  
1 Mar 94 pp 1, 2

[Press release by Traian Chebeleu, spokesman for Romania's Presidency, issued in Bucharest on 28 February: "But ROMANIA LIBERA Continues To Lie"]

[Text] The daily ROMANIA LIBERA on 28 February 1994 published an article entitled "Accused of Espionage—a Great Dilemma for the Romanian Secret Services; The Key Man Is Intelligence General Nikos Grylakis," signed by Sorin Rosca Stanescu.

Giving absolute credit to the recent accusations made by Deputy Traian Basescu [of the Democratic Party (National Salvation Front)], which it considers as the pure truth, ROMANIA LIBERA—with a persistence worthy of a better cause—wants to involve the presidency and its representatives in the affair of the sale of the Romanian fleet [illegally sold to Greek businessman Stellos Katounis, owner of the shipping company Forum Maritime]. This time, the "cause" is served by Sorin Rosca Stanescu, who, probably out of the desire to return to ROMANIA LIBERA en-force, only proves that he has not forgotten the practices used by the old Securitate, whose reliable informer he had been.

The article claims that "representatives of the executive branch" and the presidential institution have supplied secret information regarding the Petromin fleet to Greek intelligence General Nikos Grylakis. In this connection, Democratic Party Deputy Basescu named two names: Minister of Transport Paul Teodoru and Vasile Ionel, President Ion Iliescu's adviser. "Until now, the representatives of the government, as well as those of the presidential institution, have not officially denied anything," the article claims, adding that General Grylakis has "influenced President Iliescu's election," for which he "received a medal in Bucharest in 1993; Iliescu does not deny this."

Romanian President Ion Iliescu has often stated his opinion on the Petromin-Forum Maritime affair, but to maintain its accusations of indifference and silence ROMANIA LIBERA chooses to deliberately ignore this thing. We recall that on 24 June 1993, when he was first time asked about the contract between the Petromin and Forum Maritime companies, President Ion Iliescu said: "This is not one of my prerogatives; I am not obliged,

nor do I think it is necessary for me to deal with these problems that belong to the national economic sphere. I do not have the necessary instruments for that or the necessary qualifications. There is no presidential department in charge of these matters, which do not fall under the competence of the presidential institution. This is a matter to be dealt with by the trade companies or public corporations involved in these affairs and by the relevant government officials, ministries, and economic-financial control bodies. I do not deny that there might be suspicions in connection with the seriousness and professionalism with which the respective negotiations were conducted. All this should be examined." (From the press communique of the presidential spokesman No. 164/1993)

In the meantime, the Romanian press gave details about the Petromin-Forum Maritime affair, so that on 23 July 1993, the presidential spokesman summed up President Ion Iliescu's viewpoint on this subject in two points:

"1. The Petromin-Forum Maritime contract should be examined by the bodies set up for this purpose, namely the respective parliamentary and government commissions, so that a normal contract can be concluded which does not disadvantage the Romanian state.

"2. The situation of all contracts previously concluded by Petromin should be clarified and the results of the enquiry should be published, with the relevant bodies being notified if needed."

ROMANIA LIBERA's claim that General Gryllakis "influenced President Iliescu's election" is ridiculous, to say the least, so it does not deserve any comment. Regarding the alleged medal awarded by Romania's president to General Gryllakis, Sorin Rosca Stanescu

should have known that the practice of awarding medals was discontinued in our country after the December 1989 revolution. As a matter of fact, the spokesman mentioned that thing on another occasion, in answer to a question about a similar allegation made by daily EVENIMENTUL ZILEI. (From the spokesman's press communique N. 213/1993)

Regarding the accusations made by Deputy Traian Basescu, according to which General Vasile Ionel would have supplied a file with secret data to the Greek general, we reprint here the answer given by the presidential adviser to the daily ULTIMUL CUVANT on 28 February 1994: "It is the statement of a man who does not assume responsibility for what he is saying. I will disappoint Mr. Basescu and those inclined to believe him by responsibly stating that I do not know what they are talking about." A first logical question is why would such a commercial transaction—over the Petromin fleet—have to involve files with secret data and the interference of an official from the presidency?

Of course, it is easy to realize that there are various quarters interested in sowing as much confusion as possible in this respect and divert attention from what has to be clarified, namely the ways and means through which part of the Petromin fleet was sold abroad.

Romania's president considers that the legal system is the only one capable of ascertaining the truth of these accusations; consequently, he hopes that the legal bodies will shed some light on what is called "the Petromin affair." Any rumors or "information" deliberately launched in this connection can only encumber the normal proceedings of the inquiry—the press communique released by the spokesman of the Romanian presidency concludes.

### Serb Planes Stage 'Air Show' Over Towns

LD0603173794 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina  
Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 6 Mar 94

[Text] The residents of Vitez, Travnik, Novi Travnik, and other towns in central Bosnia watched a kind of air show today. At 1612, two Super-Galeb aircraft of the former Yugoslav People's Army appeared in the sky above central Bosnia. Choosing their targets, they obviously wanted to demonstrate the planes' capabilities and the pilots' skills. Judging by appearances, the aircraft were only a bait for NATO planes because they did not engage in combat activity. So as not to be hit by ground weapons, one aircraft released protective flares over Vitez. The exhibition by Serb pilots ended at 1635, when NATO planes appeared flying at a very high altitude. The Serb Galebs gained height and flew away toward their home base, accompanied by whistles of many people who watched the display and obviously did not understand the aim of such a show of force.

### Serbs, UNPROFOR Agree on Tuzla Corridors

LD0603180394 Belgrade TANJUG in English  
1727 GMT 6 Mar 94

[Text] Sarajevo, March 6 (TANJUG)—The Bosnian Serb Republic (R.S.) and the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) on Sunday agreed on the opening of two air corridors to Tuzla, a Muslim-held town in the north-eastern part of the former Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The agreement was reached at Pale, the R.S. administrative centre, between R.S. president Radovan Karadzic, special U.N. Secretary-General's envoy for the former Yugoslavia Yasushi Akashi, and UNPROFOR Commander for Bosnia-Herzegovina, Gen. Michael Rose, the R.S. news agency SRNA said.

Akashi confirmed after the meeting that an agreement had been reached on the opening of two air corridors which would link Tuzla with Croatia's capital of Zagreb and the Croatian Adriatic port of Split. Akashi said that the ways and means of securing the airfield near Tuzla had also been agreed.

The Japanese diplomat said that Karadzic had guaranteed the safe use of the airfield, but there remained some difficulties with the other two sides, the Bosnian Muslims and Croats, with whom he said no agreement had been reached yet.

A group of Russian experts left for Tuzla on Sunday to carry out preparations for the opening of the airfield in line with an agreement reached between the Russian Government and the R.S.

Russian observers will check all deliveries which arrive at the Dubrava airfield near Tuzla, because the Serb side fears the airfield could be used for illegal munitions shipments to the Bosnian Muslims.

Karadzic said after the meeting with the two UNPROFOR officials that he was satisfied since "things are moving in a positive direction and confidence is also gradually increasing."

The R.S. president set out special interest in the "free movement of civilians in Sarajevo, since arounds 60,000 Serbs are still to be found in the Muslim section of the city, where they are held as ethnic hostages." Karadzic recalled that an agreement had been reached at the Geneva peace talks on the free movement of civilians between the Serb and Muslim sections of Sarajevo.

Asked to comment the statements of Bosnian Muslim leaders that peace could be reached in Bosnia-Herzegovina in April if the Serbs were to join the Croat-Muslim agreement on a federation, Karadzic said that "peace is possible even earlier." He, however, said he doubted the new coalition's readiness to accept a peaceful solution to the conflict.

Karadzic recalled that Muslims and Croats had been "hostile towards Serbs" in both the first and second world wars, just as he said they were now.

### UNPROFOR Controls Airport

AU0703134494 Paris AFP in English 1339 GMT  
7 Mar 94

[Text] Tuzla, Bosnia, March 7 (AFP)—Swedish and Danish soldiers of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) took over control Monday of the airport of Tuzla in northern Bosnia from Bosnian government troops.

They were to start preparing the airport for the reception of humanitarian aid flights following a weekend agreement by besieging Serbs to allow two air corridors into Tuzla.

Some 100 Swedish troops backed by armoured vehicles, including six Danish-crewed Leopard tanks, entered the base at 1:30 p.m. (1230 GMT) to replace the last elements of the mainly-Moslem Bosnian army.

Earlier half-a-dozen Moslem trucks had left the airport carrying troops, documents and other equipment.

The 2,400 metre (3,000 yard) runways, which can take heavy transport aircraft, are within range of Serb artillery, but the airport has not been shelled since last week.

### Izetbegovic, Akashi Hold Talks in Sarajevo

LD0603194894 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina  
Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 6 Mar 94

[Text] Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, this afternoon talked to Yasushi Akashi, the UN secretary general's special envoy for the area of the former Yugoslavia. The talks were also attended by member of the Presidency Ejup Ganic and Army General Rasim Delic. Coming up is Nedžad Leko's report.

[Leko] Following today's talks, it was Yasushi Akashi who spoke to reporters first. He expressed satisfaction with the fact that the situation in Sarajevo had improved considerably since his last visit on 20 February. I can see that people are happier, more relaxed, Mr. Akashi added. As for the talks he said:

[Begin Akashi recording in English fading to Serbo-Croatian translation] We discussed how best to restore important public services in Sarajevo. General Rose, in cooperation with Bosnian Army Commander Gen. Rasim Delic, has already done a lot in that respect. He has drawn up a list of priorities for restoring electricity, water and gas supplies, and opening roads. We will continue working in that direction. As you know, the UN secretary general has been asked to send a report on this to the Security Council in seven days. We are preparing that report, and as far as the restoration of services in Sarajevo is concerned, we will work closely with the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government.

We also reviewed the military situation, which is particularly tense in Maglaj, while the situation in other towns such as Mostar and Vitez has improved somewhat. As you know, I visited those towns last week and the cease-fire is holding, although it is occasionally violated.

We also discussed the opening of Tuzla airport, where some issues are still open. I promised UNPROFOR's [UN Protection Forces] full cooperation in improving the situation further and in strengthening peace, but, as you know, we need additional forces, reinforcements.

President Izetbegovic expressed his confidence in UNPROFOR as a neutral and unbiased force, which acts on behalf of the whole of the international community, and I am grateful to him for that. [end recording]

Akashi answered several journalists' questions. Speaking about when roads will be opened, he said that a special committee—which will be headed by Bosnian Presidency member Ejup Ganic on the Bosnian side, and by Gen. Rose on the UNPROFOR side—will review it. They will establish specific details of when and how, and whether all roads can be opened simultaneously.

Answering a question about the convoy for Maglaj, Akashi could not say when the convoy would leave because UNPROFOR has no troops deployed in the area. He stressed that UNPROFOR was very concerned about the situation there because air-drops are the only way to send food, but only 40 percent of food reaches those for whom it is intended. Akashi could neither confirm nor deny the reports on this morning's bombing of Maglaj by Serb aircraft. He said that, since he had been travelling all day, he had received no information about it from NATO.

Journalists wanted to know when Tuzla airport would be opened. Akashi said:

[Begin Akashi recording in English fading to Serbo-Croatian translation] Of course, I hope that Tuzla airport will be opened as soon as possible. The airport is good, but it needs to be improved, and some parts need to be repaired. We also have to provide additional equipment. However, problems at the moment are more of a political nature rather than technical. I would like the airport to be opened as a result of a general consensus, and this is why I am holding very intensive talks with the interested parties. However, there are still certain problems that need to be overcome. [end recording]

[Leko] The press were then addressed by Alija Izetbegovic.

[Begin Izetbegovic recording] As you can see, we discussed a large number of issues today. It is my impression that we made some progress on each of these issues, on some to a greater extent, on others to a lesser extent. I believe that very soon we are going to have a far better situation regarding power, gas, and water supplies in Sarajevo. We also expect that these roads in Sarajevo will open very soon. We also expect Tuzla airport to be opened in the near future. There are some minor difficulties that ought to be resolved. They are of a political, not of a technical nature. Our talks today focussed on Maglaj. We will send a letter to the Security Council this evening again, on the basis of our talks. We also asked Mr. Akashi and Gen. Rose to enable us to visit Srebrenica and Gorazde. I believe that the problem of Gorazde will be solved very soon, perhaps in a few days. We will have to wait a bit longer for Srebrenica, but I believe that this will also be solved successfully. [end recording]

#### Ganic on Russian Forces as Part of UN

LD0603191394 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 6 Mar 94

[Text] Russian troops ought to stay in Bosnia-Herzegovina within the UN mission and our country has nothing against this, Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency member Ejup Ganic told a special correspondent of the Russian newspaper KRASNAYA ZVEZDA today.

But the manner in which they arrived and the manifestation [as heard] organized on their arrival by Karadzic's Serbs irritated the people of our country, he stressed. Ganic believes the Russian troops in Sarajevo and Bosnia-Herzegovina should be mixed with all other UN forces in our country and not only be deployed along the front lines. Their task is to take part in safeguarding traffic routes and protecting convoys, in administrative work, and so forth. Anything else could bring about a situation whereby their impartiality, as members of the UN troops, is jeopardized, Ganic believes.

Karadzic wanted to present the arrival of the Russian troops as his triumph, so the arrival of 400 Russian soldiers was announced as a Russian invasion. This is a double game by the Pale leadership, which wants to drag

Russia and its diplomats into a dishonest game and to confront it with the rest of the world, Ganic said. Bosnia-Herzegovina's long-term interest is in cooperation with Russia, this cannot be just a Serb privilege.

We would like to see the commander of the Russian contingent at talks with the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency. This could certainly contribute toward improving relations on the ground, Ganic concluded.

#### **Delic Rejects Russian Troops Near Tuzla**

AU0503185594 Paris AFP in English 1828 GMT  
5 Mar 94

[Text] Sarajevo, March 5 (AFP)—Ceasefires in Sarajevo and central Bosnia continued broadly to hold Saturday [5 March], but concern grew in particular over a warning by the head of the Moslem-led Bosnian army of possible "incidents" if Russian troops deploy around the enclave of Tuzla.

General Rasim Delic said the Bosnian army had "no confidence" in the neutrality of Russian troops and did not want to see them deployed, even as observers, in line with a UN plan to reopen Tuzla airport. People were "irritated with things they (the Russians) have done. Some incidents could happen and it has to be avoided," Delic said. Twenty-five Russian experts arrived in Zagreb Friday en route for Tuzla, where they are to visit the airport in preparation for Russian deployment.

In an interview with AFP, the commander of the Bosnian army said the besieged mainly Moslem population in Tuzla mistrusted the UN idea of deploying Russian troops there, viewing the Russians as allies of the Serbs. Delic said the airport at Tuzla was Bosnian property and that the Bosnian government should be able to decide who was based there. "We're not asking for some special troops but we don't want the Russians," Delic said, also rejecting the idea of Russian observers, if that were proposed instead of armed soldiers.

The United Nations has said it will start using Tuzla airport this month to boost the humanitarian aid effort in central Bosnia. Serb forces besiege almost half a million people in Tuzla and have bombed the airport several times in recent weeks.

The Russian experts are to visit the airport, which Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic and Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev said Tuesday in Moscow they had agreed to reopen after almost two years' closure.

Bosnian government officials have already protested the deployment of 400 Russian UN troops behind Serb lines in Sarajevo.

Meanwhile ceasefires were holding broadly, UN officials said. But UN peacekeepers admitted problems pinpointing the origins of the sporadic shellfire that fell within the NATO-imposed exclusion zone around the Bosnian capital.

Two mortars shells fell overnight Friday near the UN-controlled Sarajevo airport, without causing casualties, said UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) spokesman Major Rob Annink. The incident was the latest breach of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation's heavy weapons exclusion zone set up 20-kilometres (12-miles) around Sarajevo.

UN Bosnian Commander General Sir Michael Rose on Friday repeated his urgent appeal for more UN troops to be sent to Bosnia to help enforce the ceasefires, warning continued ceasefire breaches threatened to topple the fragile peace process. The British general has called for at least 5,000 more troops to reinforce the 13,000 UNPROFOR soldiers already in Bosnia.

Meanwhile, five 122-mm howitzers discovered inside the Sarajevo exclusion zone Thursday have been driven out by the Serbs, UNPROFOR spokesman Rob Annink said, adding that a sixth was due to leave Saturday. The Serbs told UNPROFOR that they considered that the weapons, discovered at Cifluk, 19 kilometres from Sarajevo, were outside the exclusion zone.

In central and southern Bosnia-Herzegovina British and Canadian UN troops were due Saturday to deploy along the confrontation lines between government soldiers and Bosnian Croat forces. UNPROFOR planned to inspect 350 kilometres of front lines, mainly in the areas around Vitez, Mostar, Gornji Vakuf, Prozor, Konijc and Jablanica. The opening of six aid routes through the front lines were also to be negotiated.

Under the terms of a Croat-Moslem ceasefire which came into force late last month, all HVO [Croatian Defense Council] and Bosnian army checkpoints are to be dismantled or placed under UN control.

#### **Rose, Army Chief on Muslim-Croat Agreement**

LD0503164694 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina  
Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 5 Mar 94

[Text] Army General Rasim Delic, chief of the general staff of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, and Gen. Michael Rose, UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] Commander for Bosnia-Herzegovina, had talks in Sarajevo today. The two commanders discussed the dynamism of the implementation of the cease-fire agreement, signed between the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the HVO [Croatian Defense Council] transition from a war to a peace situation in the city of Sarajevo, as well as possibilities of UN representatives entering Maglaj.

Gen. Rose was optimistic in assessing the activity so far in the realization of the HVO-Bosnia-Herzegovina Army agreement, which he could see for himself during his visits to Old Vitez, Gornji Vakuf, and other parts of central Bosnia in the past few days. He pointed out the problems of implementing the agreement in the city of Sarajevo, where he expects a great deal of work in the

near future. The Army and civil authorities are expected to make their contribution to this in cooperation with the UNPROFOR.

Army Gen. Delic said that Bosnia-Herzegovina Army units and commands were ready to carry out all the tasks laid down by the peace agreement with the HVO. The agreement is being implemented with success on the ground and there is room for optimism, said Army Gen. Delic.

As for the opening of Dubrave airport near Tuzla, the stands of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the state leadership are quite clear. We insist that the airport be opened, but I do not accept any Serb conditions regarding its opening. This is our free territory and there can be no discussion about the territory, which our army has liberated, stressed Army Gen. Delic at the end of the talks today.

#### **Buha: Serbs Will Never Accept Federal Bosnia**

*LD0603173094 Belgrade TANJUG in English  
1711 GMT 6 Mar 94*

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, March 6 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Serb Foreign Minister Aleksa Buha said on Sunday that Bosnian Serbs would never agree to a federal Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Speaking at the day of Orthodox and Slav unity event organised in central Belgrade by the international Serbian community and the Belgrade-based non-governmental White Rose anti-racist organization, Buha said that the international community was advocating "a dual plan of a federation and confederation," instead of trying to separate Bosnia's three warring nations which can no longer live together.

Under strong U.S. pressure, Bosnian Croats and Moslems signed an agreement last Tuesday undertaking to form a Moslem-Croat federation in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and subsequently enter into a loose confederation with neighbouring Croatia.

"The Croats and Moslems can unite without us, if they want to, but they cannot unite against us," said Buha and added there could certainly be "no return to any sovereign and integral Bosnia-Herzegovina."

The concept of Moslem-Croat federation is intended by Washington to make it possible for the Moslems to preserve an integral Bosnia-Herzegovina, enlarge the territory under their control and gain access to the sea. Last, but not least, it should create a firm negotiating and, possibly military, bloc against the Bosnian Serbs.

President of the White Rose organization Radomir Smiljanic said that the "Serbs are demonstrating their desire for a speedy signing of just peace for Bosnia-Herzegovina" and added that the day of Orthodox and

Slav unity was being held simultaneously in all world capitals which have Serb communities.

"The world has met with Islamization, Germanization, conversion to Roman Catholicism, but it has never heard of conversion to Orthodox Christianity, because nothing like that has even been practiced," Smiljanic said. He added that "Serbs have never in their history waged crusades, they have only defended their peace and freedom."

#### **Karadzic on Federation, NATO 'Interference'**

*AU0703130494 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German  
7 Mar 94 pp 144-145*

[Interview with Radovan Karadzic, leader of the Bosnian Serbs, by an unidentified reporter; place and date not given: "Pushed Under the Russian Wing"]

[Text] [DER SPIEGEL] For the first time NATO has enforced the no-fly zone over Bosnia by force. Has this blow taught the Serbs to be afraid?

[Karadzic] NATO's interference in our crisis is a disaster. NATO is clearly anti-Serbian, and threats directed one-sidedly against us will not lead to peace. No organization is legitimated to supplant the United Nations.

[DER SPIEGEL] However, the United Nations has proved to be incapable of dealing with the crisis and has not been able to implement any resolutions.

[Karadzic] Then the United Nations must reinforce its troops. Such a mission must not be left to a block pursuing its own interests. NATO, which has long become obsolete since the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact, has made use of the weakness of the United Nations and is now acting completely on its own.

[DER SPIEGEL] But giving the order for an operation still rests with the UN commanders on site.

[Karadzic] NATO was determined to shoot also without an order. The Western alliance had the need to do so. Therefore, Boris Yeltsin asked me and President Milosevic to give in.

[DER SPIEGEL] Is it not becoming increasingly likely that there will be a new Yalta in the Balkans, with Serbia falling into the Russians' sphere of interests?

[Karadzic] The Russian culture, the Russian people and its religion are very close to us. However, when we are pushed under the Russian wing in political terms, this is just the fault of the West. It has proved to be merciless and aggressive toward our people. We are in a situation where one cannot choose one's friends. If Russia offers to protect our rights, we cannot refuse this.

[DER SPIEGEL] You have just been to Moscow. Did President Yeltsin promise you any specific help if there was a further escalation between Serbs and NATO?

[Karadzic] Of course, Russia will not permit NATO to dominate the Balkans. Nor can Moscow have any interest in letting the conflict spread to Greece, Turkey, or Albania. By the way—we can defend ourselves.

[DER SPIEGEL] President Yeltsin has suggested a peace conference with the big five: the United States, Russia, France, Britain, and Germany. Would you participate in such a conference and sign a peace plan worked out there?

[Karadzic] This conference would have to be prepared well. All three sides would have to make sacrifices. The final outcome should be an international peace treaty similar to the one of Versailles in 1919 that sets down the new borders.

[DER SPIEGEL] And what should these borders be like?

[Karadzic] Our idea was the formation of a Muslim state in Bosnia with 33.3 percent of the territory. This is enough to survive. There are smaller states. We wanted to exchange territories with Croatia. As a result, the Serbs would not have gotten everything and the Croats would not have lost everything.

[DER SPIEGEL] In the meantime, an agreement between Bosnian Muslims and Croats has been achieved, who want to form a joint federation and then plan to establish a confederation with Croatia. Will the Bosnian Serbs join this model?

[Karadzic] Only political illiterates could expect us to do that. We lived in the so-called Croatian-Muslim state in World War II. At that time hundreds of thousands of Serbs were killed under German protection under German protection. For us there can only be an independent Serbian state in Bosnia or the unification of the Bosnian Serbs with all other Serbs in one state. Anything else would be unnatural.

#### **Army, HVO Cooperating on Cease-Fire Deadline**

AU0703120294 Paris AFP in English 1142 GMT  
7 Mar 94

[Article by Michael Adler]

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, March 7 (AFP)—Bosnian Moslem and Croatian troops were working Monday to meet a noon deadline to withdraw heavy weapons from some 350 kilometres (210 miles) of front lines as part of a ceasefire accord.

The accord, signed last week in Washington and part of an overall agreement between both sides to form a loose federation, calls for mortars to be pulled back 10 kilometres (six miles) from front lines in southern and central Bosnia and tanks and artillery 20 kilometres (12 miles). All other heavy weapons are to be placed under UN control.

The ceasefire, patterned after a similar truce for Sarajevo, has generally been holding well with only sporadic

incidents reported, UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] spokesman Major Jose Labandeira said Monday. He said Croat HVO [Croatian Defense Council] forces began to withdraw heavy weapons from the southern town of Mostar and the central town of Kiseljak on Sunday and that several artillery pieces had been handed over at UN collection sites.

The Bosnian Army had also marked minefields between Kiseljak and Bosovaca, Labandeira said. "The HVO and BIH (Bosnian Army) continue to cooperate very well," he said.

The two former allies began fighting last May when the Croats moved to carve a separate state for themselves in southwest Bosnia. They agreed to sign the U.S.-brokered truce last week in a bid to isolate Bosnia's Serb faction at peace talks and end a two-year war that has claimed some 200,000 lives. [passage omitted]

Meanwhile in Sarajevo a nearly monthlong ceasefire was holding Monday despite continued fighting in one stubborn pocket. UNPROFOR spokesman Captain Niels Otto Pedersen said the main battlefield in Bosnia had moved to the northwestern town of Maglaj which was undergoing heavy Serb shelling according to British UN troops stationed nearby.

The Serbs were also continuing to block humanitarian aid from reaching the city, UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) spokesman Kris Janowski told reporters. He said that even if current NATO airdrops of food worked perfectly, which is not the case, this would meet only half the food needs of the city's population of 16,000. "I know the human situation is critical" in Maglaj, Janowski said.

In other developments, Swedish Foreign Minister Margaretha af Ugglas arrived in Zagreb on Monday to meet with Croatian and UN officials before heading to Sarajevo on Tuesday. Sweden has peacekeeping troops deployed in Sarajevo and the northern town of Tuzla, where the UN is to take control of the airport so that humanitarian aid can be flown in to the Serb-besieged town.

Bosnian Serb officials agreed Sunday to the creation of two air-corridors into Tuzla, where Russian military observers are to be deployed to ensure that no military equipment reaches the Moslems.

#### **Serb Attacks on HVO Reported**

LD0603150994 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in  
Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 6 Mar 94

[Text] The Serb aggressors have continued an offensive on the Usora area (northern Bosnia), the local command of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] reported on Sunday. The Serb forces fired three howitzer shells at civilian targets in the village of Jelah destroying several residential buildings on Sunday morning, the same source said. The HVO units managed to repel a severe artillery-supported infantry attack of the Serb aggressors

in the area of Glavasi-Kriz-Komin on the western part of the Usora battlefield last night, whereas on the eastern part of the crisis area the Serb forces failed to carry out an infantry breakthrough in the region of Cerici-Razbjenjak-Makljanovac at the same time. The enemy forces opened antiaircraft weaponry and mortar fire all the night on the Usora battlefield, said the same source. Thus far one HVO soldier has been reported to be gravely wounded. The HVO reconnaissance troops noticed last night a concentration of the Serb aggressors' forces and artillery on the western part of the Usora battlefield. Another offensive of the enemy formations is being expected last few days.

### **Serbs Fire at French UN Troops in Sarajevo**

*LD0603120194 Paris France-Inter Radio Network in French 1100 GMT 6 Mar 94*

[Text] We've just heard that French UN troops again came under attack last night in Sarajevo in what they described as a deliberate Serb attack. Luc Lemonnier has this report from Sarajevo:

[Lemonnier] The incident once again took place at the Jewish cemetery, close to the center of Sarajevo, in the hills where Serbs and Muslims are separated by only a few dozen meters. A detachment of French UN troops is also in this frontline sector. Earlier in the week they had already returned fire against the Serbs with their heavy machine-guns. Last night, just after 2000, they were the targets of deliberate fire, which a high-ranking UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] official said came from Bosnian Serb lines. The French soldiers returned fire for a few minutes with their machine guns, and one French soldier was injured by splinters of stone during the clash. Such incidents are a daily occurrence in Sarajevo, especially in the evening, and Generals Cot and Rose warned two days ago that without a significant increase in UN troop numbers, such incidents could end up threatening the cease-fire and the whole peace process.

### **Serbs Under Muslim Mortar Attacks**

*LD0503141594 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1318 GMT 5 Mar 94*

["Pool" item]

[Text] Sarajevo, March 5 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Moslem forces launched mortar attacks on Serb settlements and army positions around Sarajevo in the night between Friday and Saturday despite a cease-fire which came into force on February 10, the Bosnian Serb Army said in a statement.

On Friday and on Saturday, the Moslems opened cannon, mortar, anti-aircraft and small arms fire on Serb settlements and army positions in the areas of Dobojski, Teslic, Maglaj and Mt. Ozren in northern Bosnia, the statement added.

It also said that regular troops of the Republic of Croatia had not withdrawn from Bosnia-Herzegovina although the deadline set by the U.N. Security Council expired on February 17.

On February 3, the Security Council threatened to introduce sanctions against Croatia unless it withdrew its regular troops from Bosnia.

From the outset of the Bosnian war nearly two years ago, the Croatian Army supported the local Croat and Moslem forces in their war against local Serbs. Since early 1993, however, Croatia's regular troops and Bosnian Croat forces have been fighting pitched battles with Bosnian Moslems for territories in central and southern Bosnia.

### **Sarajevo Radio Reports Air Attacks on Maglaj**

*AU0703103394 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 7 Mar 94*

[Report by Hajrudin Fermic from Maglaj]

[Text] Although a cease-fire between the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the Serbian aggressor's side in order to exchange soldiers' remains was agreed upon and should have come into effect at 0700 this morning, the chetniks have fiercely attacked the defenders of Maglaj.

The attacks were directed at the positions of the fighters of the 201st Brigade in the Bijela Ploca-(Herdovace) region with the substantial support of tanks, mortars, guns, and self-propelled antiaircraft artillery [praga]. The chetniks also attempted an infantry breakthrough. However, the situation is most difficult for the civilian population of Maglaj which is being exposed to constant artillery activities.

A general alarm was again sounded at 0830 this morning. The shelling of Maglaj lasted throughout yesterday and overnight—first came aircraft bombs and then attacks from howitzers, tanks, mortars, and Bofors guns. More than 500 shells have been fired, killing four civilians and injuring nine.

### **Tank, Infantry Attacks Reported**

*LD0603115394 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 6 Mar 94*

[Text] We have received a statement from the press center of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army saying that combat planes belonging to the Serb aggressor attacked the free territory of Maglaj at 0500 this morning. In the bestial bombing, the chetniks destroyed the old bridge in Maglaj.

The headquarters of the supreme command of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina immediately informed the UN command for Bosnia-Herzegovina about the situation in Maglaj. At 1015, the Serb aggressor's combat planes again attacked Old Maglaj, and at the same time chetnik units launched a fierce combined

tank and infantry attack. Soldiers of the 201st Knight Brigade of the Bosnia-Herzegovina army successfully repelled the attack. In preparation for a fresh tank and infantry attack, with air force support, the chetniks are regrouping their forces while still attacking the town of Maglaj.

Army General Rasim Delic, commander of the headquarters of the supreme command of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, informed General Michael Rose [UN Protection Forces commander for Bosnia] personally about the attacks by the Serb air force on Maglaj and demanded that NATO planes take more effective action to stop the bombing of Maglaj, which is primarily aimed at civilian targets and infrastructure. General Rose promised urgent intervention by NATO forces to protect the air space above Maglaj. This is what was said in a statement of the press center of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army.

#### **Serbs Deny Bombing Maglaj**

*LD0603194294 Belgrade TANJUG in English  
1911 GMT 6 Mar 94*

[Text] Belgrade, March 6 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Serb aircraft did not bomb Moslem-held Maglaj on Sunday morning, Bosnian Serb military sources said.

The Moslem forces which control this northern Bosnian town are burning piles of tyres to make it look as if the town is in smoke after an air raid, the sources said.

Moslem-controlled Radio Sarajevo alleged on Sunday that Bosnian Serb aircraft had destroyed the bridge across the River Bosna which bisects Maglaj, and Moslem army commander Gen. Rasim Delic has requested the commander of the U.N. Protection Force in Bosnia, General Sir Michael Rose, to order "an immediate intervention" by the NATO air force.

The NATO Command for Southern Europe in Naples, Italy, on Sunday denied that Bosnian Serb aircraft had violated the "no fly" zone over Bosnia.

NATO Spokesman in Naples John Jeffrey said NATO had no information about any violation of Bosnian air space and could not confirm that Maglaj had been raided from the air.

REUTERS, Mega and Antenne 1 television crews have filmed Moslem assaults on the eastern slopes of Mt Ozren and the situation in nearby Maglaj, and the footage showed the town to be quiet.

Bosnian Serb military sources said that the Moslem allegation of a Serb raid on Maglaj was designed to draw attention away from Moslem offensives in the north—in the areas of Mt Ozren, Trebava and Dobo, and in the Bosna river valley.

The Bosnian Serb army said in a statement that a Moslem sabotage unit from Tesanj had blown up the

iron bridge in Maglaj in order to prevent Moslem civilians from crossing to the right bank of the Bosna and fleeing to Moslem-held Zenica in central Bosnia, under an agreement with the Bosnian Serb army.

#### **NATO Patrolling Airspace**

*LD0603152494 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina  
Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 6 Mar 94*

[Excerpts] This morning, the chetniks again launched air attacks on the Maglaj area. They really want to cause a final show-down with NATO forces.

The chetniks are continuing the offensive on Maglaj, using all weapons and targeting everything. [passage omitted]

The aggressors tried to use aircraft again at 0915 GMT but failed to achieve the desired result. They let out their rage on civilians in the town, dropping tonnes of their deadly load. Howitzers, mortars, and tanks are pounding the town, and they have fired more than 400 shells on residential areas. We have learned that three civilians have been killed and six wounded. The shelling of Maglaj is going on as I speak. The best witnesses to the intensity of the shelling are NATO pilots who have been actively patrolling the air space above Maglaj since 0900 GMT.

The war presidency of the Maglaj municipality has sent a request to Michael Rose [UN commander for Bosnia] to immediately dispatch UN Protection Force units to Maglaj to stop the further killing of civilians and protect material goods from the bestial shelling.

#### **No Breach of Flight Ban Reported**

*AU0603152694 Paris AFP in English 1319 GMT  
6 Mar 94*

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, March 6 (AFP)—Bosnian Serb warplanes twice attacked the northern Moslem enclave of Maglaj on Sunday [6 March], Radio Sarajevo reported, but NATO officials in Italy said they had no reports of a UN flight ban over Bosnia being breached. [passage omitted]

In Naples, a spokesman for the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation denied the Bosnia "no-fly" order had been breached Sunday [6 March]. U.S. Major John Jeffrey said the Western military alliance had received no reports of an attack on Maglaj. Any breach of the flight ban would have led to a NATO riposte, he said. An Italian spokesman for NATO told AFP: "As far as we are concerned nothing happened."

Maglaj, whose pre-war population of 19,000 was 45 percent Moslem, has been besieged by the Serbs for eight months and its residents are said to be living in appalling conditions. Sadic said that 11 people were killed and 24 others recently when the town's hospital was shelled.

**Muslim Offensive Against Serbs in Doboj Region***LD0703135694 Belgrade TANJUG in English  
1234 GMT 7 Mar 94*

[Text] Doboj, March 7 (TANJUG)—A Muslim offensive against Serb positions and settlements continues in the region of Doboj in northern Bosnia-Herzegovina, where Serb troops have repelled four strong Muslim attacks, Bosnian Serb military sources said on Monday.

The Muslim offensive operations have been the strongest in the area of Mounts Ozren and Trebava, south of Doboj, where the arrival of fresh Muslim troops has been observed, the same sources said.

The Muslim side carried out three infantry attacks in the Mount Ozren area north-east of Zavidovici in an attempt to make a breakthrough and link up with Muslim troops south of Doboj.

Serb troops took effective action and repelled the three attacks and also an attempted infantry breakthrough east of Zavidovici, forcing the enemy to return to the starting positions.

All Serb settlements in the north-eastern part of Mount Ozren are a constant target of Muslim snipers, the Bosnian Serb military sources said.

Muslim forces kept on opening fire from infantry weapons all along the frontline in the area of Brcko in northern Bosnia-Herzegovina on the night of March 6-7.

Bosnian Muslim army commander Rasim Delic on Saturday said his troops would launch new operations against the Bosnian Serbs. He set out that, having signed the Washington agreement on a federation with the Bosnian Croats, the Muslims had one front less now and extra forces, the size of a few (?brigades), to send to the front against the Serbs.

Muslim forces from the region of Gorazde in eastern Bosnia-Herzegovina resumed attacks on Serb defence lines in the areas of Ustikolina and Cajnice on the night of March 6-7.

Although Gorazde is a U.N.-proclaimed Muslim "safe area," which was to be demilitarized, Muslim units from that area continue to engage in combat and even to try to get their commando-terrorist groups behind Serb lines, Bosnian Serb military sources said.

**Six Muslims Killed in Attack of Doboj***LD0503154594 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina  
Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 5 Mar 94*

[Excerpt] This is one of the most difficult days of war for the civilian population of the free territories of the Doboj municipality [in northern Bosnia; the town of Doboj is held by Serbs] [word indistinct] and outlying districts of the Gracanica municipality [east of Doboj] on [word indistinct] section of the battlefield.

More than 800 shells from the direction of Lipac, Josava, Kostajnica, [words indistinct] hit the area. Six people have been killed, including three women and one child. The aggressor's destructive attacks are the result of a successful and heroic defense put up by the fighters of the 109th Doboj Brigade and 111th Gracanica Brigade [both of Bosnia-Herzegovina Army], which have, since early this morning, managed to repel four attacks in which the enemy attempted to recapture the newly liberated strategic hills of [words indistinct]. These aborted and unsuccessful attacks left a dozen forcibly mobilized [Serb commander Ratko] Mladic's eunuchs dead on the slopes of Mount [name indistinct]. [passage omitted]

**Serbs Attempting To Penetrate Srebrenica Zone***LD0603191994 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina  
Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 6 Mar 94*

[Excerpt] Since the beginning of March, the chetniks have intensified attempts to penetrate the protected zone of Srebrenica, bringing in 17 armored vehicles and a significant number of troops. Over the past few days they have cut communications between Zepa and Srebrenica, killed some 40 civilians, and captured around 100 others. The people of Srebrenica have held a protest rally in front of the local UN Protection Forces command. [passage omitted]

**Four Killed in Serb Artillery Attack on Zenica***LD0503192094 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina  
Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 5 Mar 94*

[Excerpt] Today, the chetniks suddenly opened artillery fire on the very center of Zenica. The press center of the Third Corps [of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army] has reported that four civilians were killed.

[Unidentified correspondent] Three 130-mm artillery shells fired from Mt. Vlasic in the period between 1510 and 1515 today killed four people and wounded six others. [passage omitted]

**Evacuations of Wounded From Mostar Begin***AU0503151894 Paris AFP in English 1443 GMT  
5 Mar 94*

[Text] Zagreb, March 5 (AFP)—Thirty-two wounded were evacuated Saturday [5 March] from the besieged Moslem sector of the southern Bosnia-Herzegovina city of Mostar on Saturday, witnesses said.

The wounded and some 47 family members were taken to Citluk, around 20 kilometres (12 miles) south of Mostar, in Spanish UN Protection Force vehicles, before being flown to the Croatian port of Split on British helicopters, said journalists.

They were due to be flown to the Italian military base of Ancona where they are to be taken to a transit centre

before flying on to hospitals in Britain, Denmark, Italy, Spain, the United States and the United Arab Emirates.

The evacuation comes after a ceasefire between the Moslem-dominated Bosnian army and Bosnian Croat forces came into effect February 25.

Some 55,000 Moslems are holed up in the shattered remains of eastern Mostar, battered by 11 months of shelling from Croat forces camped in the western districts of the historic city.

#### **'Chetniks' Continue Heavy Offensive on Bihac**

*LD0603195494 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 6 Mar 94*

[Excerpt] The Bihac area is stoically resisting a heavy chetnik offensive. The enemy's long-range artillery has not been quiet today, the 28th day of the aggressor's offensive against the Bihac region. Artillery and tank attacks on the defense lines on Hacin Vrh and Vrsak and on Cazin have intensified since midday. The chetniks also launched fresh attacks on the Grmusa plateau, where fierce fighting is under way as I am filing this report.

At the same time artillery attacks on the fringes of Cazin have been intensified. Several howitzer shells have fallen in the area of the town while the suburbs on the right bank of the river Una have been continuously shelled all day. According to unofficial reports there are several casualties. [passage omitted]

#### **Many Civilian Casualties**

*AU0703120694 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 7 Mar 94*

[Report by Mirza Sadikovic from Bihac]

[Text] The attacks by chetnik howitzers, tanks, and mortars of all calibers on the lines of defenders in the part of the front around Bihac and on Grmusko-Srbijanski Plateau have continued throughout the night and up to this moment. Fierce battles were fought on the Grmusko-Srbijanski Plateau early this morning, where, after ferocious artillery preparation, the chetniks considerably intensified attacks on all lines.

The defenders—members of the 5th Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army—responded adamantly, defending every inch of territory. Following the established scenario, the Serbian aggressor also intensified artillery attacks on Bihac and Cazin and their outskirts.

There have been many injured and killed civilians in this savage artillery attack on Bihac; however, due to current hellish situation in this town and throughout the entire Bihac district, we do not have definitive reports about this. At the time of reporting, fierce shelling of the settlements on the right bank of Una River and of the two aforementioned towns is underway.

#### **Army Commander: More Fighting Expected**

*LD0503201694 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 5 Mar 94*

[Text] Army General Rasim Delic, the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army commander in chief, spoke about the current military situation in our country at a public debate hosted by the Council of the Bosnian Intellectuals' Congress today.

Gen. Delic spoke about the creation and the strengthening of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, stressing that the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army had gained considerable strength in a short period of time thanks to the existence of organized patriotic forces. The creation of such a military force, according to Delic, thwarted the goals of the aggression: The creation of Greater Serbia, the occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the complete annihilation of the Muslim nation.

The Tudjman-Milosevic and Karadzic-Boban agreements should have served the enemy in the realization of its goals. For the Serbs they only represented Phase One in the creation of Greater Serbia. Following the signing of these agreements, the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army began fighting two aggressors. The front with the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] was still to be established. The HVO had blockaded roads and thwarted the dispatch of humanitarian aid.

Even though the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army had lost some important positions in that period—Grebak, Trnovo, and Zepce—Delic stressed, HVO forces were completely eliminated on the territory of Jablanica, Kakanj, Zenica, Travnik, and Bugojno. The HVO was defeated militarily and would have completely disappeared had not Croatia sent in its huge forces, Delic said.

A military balance with the forces of the Serb aggressor has been established. The enemy launched several offensives over the past few months—against Teocak, Olovo, Bihac, and Maglaj—but did not succeed in shifting our defense lines. Huge losses in manpower and equipment were inflicted on it. On some parts of the battlefield our forces even advanced.

According to Gen. Delic, results of strategic importance achieved by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army are: The thwarting of the occupation, the survival of the people, the opening up of roads, and the strengthening of the political reputation of Bosnia-Herzegovina in the world. The agreement reached with the Republic of Croatia should be regarded in this light. The Bosnia-Herzegovina Army gained a lot by this agreement—it no longer has to fight two enemies. The opening up of roads is also of great importance.

Speaking about the situation in the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, Delic said this was an army in which military hierarchy was respected. The Army was cleansed of crime and paramilitary formations. He particularly stressed that good cooperation with the Bosnia-Herzegovina Internal Affairs Ministry existed.

According to Delic, Internal Affairs Ministry forces and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army represent a united defense factor of our country. It is necessary to continue the strengthening of the Army regarding its organization and cadres, because there will more fighting, Rasim Delic said.

#### Muslim Religious Leader: 'We Are Slaves'

BR0703151694 Rome L'ESPRESSO in Italian  
4 Mar 94 p 84

[Interview by F.B. with Mustafa Cerić, "spiritual leader of the Bosnian Muslims," in Sarajevo; date not given: "You Have Handed Us Over to the Russians"]

[Text] *Mustafa Cerić, 42 years old, is venerated in Sarajevo with the title "Leader of the Wise Men." He is the highest religious authority in Bosnia. The Muslim faithful turn to him like Catholics to the pope. He received us at the "Careva Džamija," the city's oldest mosque, built on the banks of the Milječka by Isak Isaković in 1461, one year before the Turks occupied Sarajevo.*

[F.B.] NATO has not bombed the hills around Sarajevo. The Serbs are controlled by the UN forces. How do Muslims feel about this result of the ultimatum?

[Cerić] I do not know what NATO has done for us in 22 months. I do know, however, that we now have a double occupation. First, there was only the Serbian occupation. Now there is also the occupation by the Russians, who came solely to legalize what the Serbs have accomplished. In fact, they have consolidated the partition of the city. Therefore, thanks to the United Nations and NATO our position has worsened. Now we are slaves forced to live in a ghetto. The reason for this lies in the fact that as far as the international community is concerned the true problem does not lie with the Serbs, but with the Muslims.

[F.B.] That is a harsh opinion, one which combines pessimism with ill feeling.

[Cerić] We have survived so far, and we will survive in the future. However, Europe and the world have bound our hands, and now they are obliged to untie them. They have stopped blackmailing us with humanitarian aid and pushing us to surrender. We will not commit suicide. Therefore, I am neither pessimistic nor optimistic. I am

realistic and I know that if we had been animals instead of human beings, the world would have taken a greater interest in our cause.

[F.B.] Just a few days ago, French President Mitterrand forcefully defended you.

[Cerić] Mitterrand should stop talking about human rights. Rather, give us arms to survive. We know the Serbs well and we know how they have to be treated.

[F.B.] Many people in the West fear an Islamic state.

[Cerić] Why? We have no fear of Christianity. We Bosnians are used to living in a pluralistic and diverse society. Believe me when I say that I truly wish the Bosnians were fundamentalists so that we could find the strength and cohesion needed to fight.

[F.B.] What kind of model are you thinking of for the Bosnian state?

[Cerić] Nothing innovative. The models are those which are already known. They are all subject to international laws. For example, laws cannot be passed to institutionalize ethnic cleansing. We live according to the laws of the international community. That is not true of the Serbs. They have overturned the principles of morals. So the right question to ask is this: Is it possible not to be multicultural? Or not to live in an international context? That is the question which Europe must answer.

[F.B.] But?

[Cerić] But Europe is putting the aggressors and those who have been attacked on the same level. However, if the world is unable to answer this question about the need to be multicultural, it will be the Serbs who bring their morals to the streets of Paris, Berlin, and London. And the question will arise as to whether the idea of a united, multinational, and multicultural Europe has not died right here in Sarajevo.

[F.B.] Many Muslims have fled Sarajevo. Will they return?

[Cerić] Anyone who has fled will return. War is not made up of soldiers alone. Often, the side effects are the most dramatic. Look at the UN soldiers who are here: They have no feeling for this land, they do not identify with the people, they do not see themselves in the culture. They are merely occupation troops. As for the humanitarian organizations, there is a legitimate suspicion that they want the war to continue. Indeed, for them the war has become the only reason for their existence.

### 'Full Control' of Borders Sought

LD0503160594 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1523  
GMT 5 Mar 94

["Pool" item]

[Text] Zagreb, March 5 (TANJUG)—Croatia will seek from the U.N. Security Council before the expiration of the U.N. peace-keepers' mandate on March 31 to restore full control of its borders, the Croatian Defence and National Security Council ruled on Saturday.

"We have received firm guarantees for the security of the Croatian state, a speedier reintegration of the U.N.-protected areas into Croatia's constitutional and legal system and the earliest possible repatriation of all refugees," said the council at a session chaired by Croatian President Franjo Tudjman.

Croatia considers as its territory the Republic of Serb Krajina (RSK), which was proclaimed by Serbs in their ethnic and historical territories in Croatia in 1991. The RSK, which was placed under U.N. protection in the spring of 1992, energetically opposes any idea of Croatia controlling its territory.

Commenting on the Moslem-Croat agreement reached in Washington on Tuesday on creating a federation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Croatian Defence and National Security Council said it was a historic event which further consolidated the independent and sovereign Croatian state and ensured the survival of the Croatian people in Bosnia.

The agreement also fully protects the strategic interests of the Croatian state, the council said in a statement.

"The agreement is not directed against the interests of the Serb side in Bosnia...and it will enable the finding of a solution acceptable to all three nations in Bosnia together with the Serb side," it added.

The preliminary agreement on forming a Moslem-Croat federation in the war-torn former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, signed under strong pressure from Washington, envisages that the federation subsequently form confederate ties with neighbouring Croatia.

### Presidential Council Lauds Tudjman for Accord

LD0403201594 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in  
Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 4 Mar 94

[Text] The 37th session of the Presidential Council for Defense and National Security was held in the Presidential Palace today, chaired by the president of the Republic of Croatia, Franjo Tudjman, the president's office has announced. Here is a statement from the session we have just received.

The council reviewed the importance and circumstances of the Washington preliminary agreement on the establishment of Bosnia-Herzegovina on a federal basis as a union of inherently sovereign peoples in the Federal

Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and its entering a confederal union with the Republic of Croatia. The delegation of the Republic of Croatia, which was headed by Foreign Minister Mate Granic and took part in drawing up and signing the preliminary agreement, submitted a report to the council.

The council Described the agreement as a historic event, which further develops and strengthens the independent and sovereign Croatian state and which secures the survival of the Croat people in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and congratulated President Tudjman and the Croatian delegation on the agreement. With its active and consistent policy toward the European Community and world factors, the Croatian state policy has created preconditions and made possible the adoption of the agreement and the reaching of accord with the Bosnian Muslim delegation, while fully preserving the strategic interests of the Croatian state.

The agreement of the Muslim and Croatian sides is not directed against the Serb side, and makes it possible to find a solution with the Serb side that will be acceptable to all three nations within Bosnia-Herzegovina. The agreement marks the success of Croatia's consistent policy implemented through several agreements with the Bosnian Muslim leaders, President Tudjman's letter to President Clinton, the participation in the drawing up and adoption of Cutilheiro's plan on cantons, the Vance-Owan plan on provinces and the Vance-Stoltenberg plan on the union of republics, and President Tudjman's recent peace initiative. The agreement also shows that major world factors have accepted Croatia.

This also marks a change in the views of the United States and leading European countries, indicating their resolve regarding a solution to the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina and in the area of the former Yugoslavia. This agreement, which heralds peace, has considerably consolidated Croatia's international position as Croatia's interests correspond with those of the West. Thanks to its principled policies Croatia has been accepted as an entity with which the United States and the EC are conducting international policies.

Croatia is no longer under the threat of sanctions. On the contrary, full support has been demonstrated for the security of the Croatian state and a quicker reintegration of the UN protected areas into the constitutional and legal framework of the Republic of Croatia and for the return of refugees at the earliest possible moment. The aid needed for the restoration of the country has been promised, while prospects are also opening up for economic cooperation because the signed agreement has met with positive reactions not only in the Western world but also in Islamic countries.

The government of the Republic of Croatia will raise a number of concrete demands with United States, EC, and international financial institutions to secure the aid promised for the restoration of the country and for financing individual projects. A delegation to take part

in the further negotiations in Vienna has also been appointed. It is tasked with drawing up all relevant documents for signing a final agreement at the highest level.

The Council also discussed the imminent expiry of the UN Protection Forces mandate in Croatia. To this effect it decided to prepare a demand for concrete measures, the emphasis of which should be placed on full control over Croatian borders. The demands will be submitted to the UN Security Council before the expiry of the mandate.

Discussing the continuation of the initiated process of normalization of Croatian-Serbian relations, the council stated that the process of normalization ought to continue but one has also to resolutely let the other side know that Croatian and international interests will not tolerate any further attempts at outmaneuvering the implementation of relevant UN resolutions.

At its session today the council also discussed the need to finalize as soon as possible the procedure of appointing the state judiciary council. In this context it appointed a group who will inform it about what has been done so far, it is written at the end of the statement from the session of the Presidential Council of Defense and National Security.

#### **Krajina Leader Criticizes Federation**

*LD0603171994 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1632 GMT 6 Mar 94*

[Text] Kragujevac, 6 Mar (TANJUG)—Djordje Bjugovic, prime minister of the republic of Serb Krajina (RSK), has described the Washington agreement on the Muslim-Croat federation as tendentious and as a signal to continue attempts to bring down the republic of Serb Krajina or to bring it back into Croatia.

Bjugovic told Kragujevac radio's "Hallmark of the Times" program today that the agreement has given a green light to Croatia to regulate some matters in the way it finds most suitable.

Therefore, according to Bjugovic, great caution is needed, primarily concerning defense matters, because this is a time when crucial issues are being resolved.

The Washington agreement would also be crucial because now is the time to show our strength, and the European Union must be reminded of the facts again: that the RSK has existed for four years and its future lies in joining with the Srpska republic and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Commenting on reports that the four downed planes had taken off from Udbine airport in the RSK, Bjugovic said this is "yet another international game and a way to get in for those who want to get into the region and get involved, with the objective of serving their own interests."

There will certainly be more such games and the RSK has no interest in any confrontation in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina. It is therefore necessary to thoroughly probe the affair of the planes and to provide proper evidence, for only in that way can the truth be established, Bjugovic said.

He said it is necessary to achieve peace in order to begin with production and to reestablish traffic and infrastructure, because institutional matters have already been resolved [as received].

#### **Fighting Between Army, Serbs in Krajina**

*AU0603190094 Paris AFP in English 1803 GMT 6 Mar 94*

[Text] Zagreb, March 6 (AFP)—A weekend artillery duel between Croatian Army troops and breakaway Serbs in the Krajina region left a woman dead and several people wounded, news reports and the United Nations said.

The official Croatian news agency HINA said the shelling broke out late Saturday and continued into Sunday morning. The UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) confirmed the fighting but not the casualty report.

Shelling in the Gospic area of southern Croatia increased Sunday with UN troops counting 87 Croatian Army shells to 80 fired by Serb forces. One shell landed 20 metres (yards) from a positions held by Czech UN troops, while two mortar shells fell between 100 and 200 metres (yards) from another Czech post, UNPROFOR said. The Czechs had reported sporadic shelling in the area late Saturday.

The fighting comes a week after both sides extended to March 31 a Christmas ceasefire. Until now the truce had been respected in three of four zones controlled by secessionist Serbs and monitored by UN troops.

The truce has been violated on numerous occasions, mainly around the strategic Maslenica bridge, the only route linking Zagreb with the heavily populated Dalmatian coastline in southern Croatia.

Croatian Serbs seized the Krajina region in the civil war that broke out in 1991 when Zagreb declared independence from Serb-dominated Yugoslavia.

#### **'Intense' Fighting in Teslingrad Region**

*LD0703143194 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1313 GMT 7 Mar 94*

[Text] Knin, March 7 (TANJUG)—Intensive Croat-Serb fighting has taken place in the broader area of Teslingrad in the northwest of the republic of Serb Krajina (R.S.K.) during the past 24 hours, after Croatian troops violated the latest ceasefire agreement.

The R.S.K. army command said in a statement on Monday that the fighting took place in the area of Cukovac, which was captured by Croatian troops on Saturday. However, following strong pressure by the

Serb forces and after suffering considerable casualties, Croatian troops were forced to withdraw to their initial positions.

The same source said that the crushing of the last strongholds of the Croatian army in the area was underway.

The Serb forces have suffered no casualties in the fighting although considerable material damage has been inflicted on civilian targets.

The statement said that Croatian forces had on several occasions provoked the Serb forces by opening infantry fire in the broader area of Drnis and Benkovac, in the south of the R.S.K.

Croatian forces have repeatedly violated the ceasefire agreement, which was signed before Christmas and extended twice since then. The latest ceasefire violation indicates that Zagreb has not given up attempts to resolve disputed issues with the R.S.K. by force.

The R.S.K. was set up in 1991 on Serb ethnic and historical territories in the former Yugoslav republic of Croatia in response to Croatia's forcible secession from the former Yugoslav Federation and its violations of Serbs' human and national rights.

#### **Cease-Fire Marked by Violations Near Borders**

*AU0603163694 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 6 Mar 94*

[Report by Danko Peric from Knin]

[Text] The third extension of the cease-fire agreement reached by Krajina and Croatia is also marked by violations in the border regions. The Croatian Army carried out attacks toward the Gracac part of Mount Velebit and infiltrated a subversive group in the Teslingrad front. According to the general staff of the Serbian army of Krajina, the Croatian subversive group that was infiltrated north of Teslingrad in Lika was neutralized.

In the last 24 hours, the Croatian Army carried out attacks with infantry weapons and tanks on Zitnik near

Drnis, Otisic in the Vrljika region, and the free part of the village of Kasic near Benkovac.

It was somewhat quieter around Otocac, where the Krajina and the Croatian commissions for exchange of war prisoners and other humanitarian issues met under the auspices of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces]. They agreed on the next exchange, which will take place in 15 days, and exhumation at several hitherto unknown locations where soldiers and civilian victims of the war are buried. They also agreed that exchange include the persons who, as stated, committed classical types of crime. This cooperation under the mediation of foreign observers is thus assuming a new quality.

#### **Krajina Serb Forces Recapture Lisac Elevation**

*AU0503153094 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 5 Mar 94*

[Report by Danko Peric from Knin]

[Text] The press center of the general staff of the Serbian army of Krajina issued a communique on the situation on the battlefields in the last 24 hours stating that the Croatian forces, which temporarily captured the Lisac elevation in Lika yesterday, have been pushed out. The Lisac elevation had been under UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] control until yesterday. In contrast to the Croatian fighters, who tried to carry out yet another attack in the zone under the UN protection—which was thwarted—the members of the Serbian army of Krajina did not suffer any casualties in the counterattack.

The violation of the cease-fire agreement by the Croatian Army is again taking place in Lika, mainly around Teslingrad and Plasko, where they used infantry weapons.

Milan Martić, president of the republic of Serbian Krajina, sent greetings to the wounded on 5 March, the day of the wounded of the latest war. Our care for the wounded is permanent. No one should forget you, the Krajina president said. The meeting with the wounded was organized by the people working for the Captain Dragan Fund.

**Gligorov Stands by 'Centuries-Long' Name***AU0403150694 Skopje VECER in Macedonian  
28 Feb 94 p 4*

[Report by C. Stefanovski: "Good-Neighborliness for Peace and Stability!"]

[Excerpts] Kumanovo, 28 February—Two days ago a large public rally was held in the "Hristian Karpos" military barracks to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the formation of the 3d Macedonian Elite Group. [passage omitted]

After paying an anniversary tribute to the surviving fighters, to the members of the Macedonian Army, and to all the others, President Gligorov emphasized that on 26 February 1944 the 3d Macedonian Elite Group was formed in the Kumanovo village of Zegljane, consisting of over 320 fighters whose number subsequently kept growing.

"The National Liberation War of the Macedonian people and the nationalities living in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] during World War II, like all previous rebellions and insurrections, was for national liberation and was defensive. Macedonia, occupied by various conquerors and aspirants to foreign territories over the centuries, sacrificed and shared, but never surrendered. Not only in the battles, in which around 24,000 soldiers lost their lives just between 1941 and 1945, but it also won its sovereignty and independence in a peaceful, dignified, and democratic way, and there are few such countries in the world. The Republic of Macedonia has avoided the war that has been raging in our immediate neighborhood for two years. It has avoided divisions, and ethnic, inter-ethnic, and religious conflicts. It has avoided intervention from abroad and the possible expansion of the war onto our territories. It is of great importance not only for our state, but also for Europe and the international community.

The Republic of Macedonia has become a member of the United Nations, as well as of other international forums and associations. The Republic of Macedonia has been officially recognized by many countries, and by members of the European Union, which have opened diplomatic offices in our country. Because of all this, we are deeply interested in building relations and cooperation with all our neighbors on the basis of good neighborliness and in the interest of peace and certainly stability in the region. This constant determination that we have cannot be endangered by any blockades, or political or economic pressures, such as the latest measures by the Greek Government in closing the borders and the port of Salonika to our goods. As we always have in the past, we are resolutely opposing all pressures and we shall not allow anybody to deny our centuries-long Macedonian name. Macedonia is surviving and it will continue to survive," President Kiro Gligorov told a rally in Kumanovo celebrating the 50th anniversary of the formation of the 3d Macedonian Elite Group.

**Crvenkovski Favors Talks, Goodwill Gestures***NC0503203294 Athens ET-1 Television Network in  
Greek 1900 GMT 5 Mar 94*

[Report by ET-1 correspondent Dhimitrios Dheiolanis]

[Text] The 10 members of the Central European Initiative, which includes Italy, Austria and eight Eastern European countries, expressed here in Trieste, Italy, their deep concern about Greece's measures against Skopje [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM]. At the same time, they called on both sides to continue negotiations in the United Nations. Following the end of the two-day ministerial meeting, Skopje Foreign Minister Stevo Crvenkovski expressed his satisfaction with the communique and repeated his desire for dialogue with Greece. Asked if a goodwill gesture can be expected from Skopje, Crvenkovski replied:

[Begin recording, in English] [Crvenkovski] I think that our position is quite clear. We are absolutely for them and for continuing negotiations. We favor developing good relations between the two countries and we are strongly interested in obtaining good relations with....

[Dheiolanis, interrupting] There will be some goodwill gesture on your part?

[Crvenkovski] There have been many goodwill gestures in the past few years and I think that now is the time to sit together at the table and continue negotiations in New York. I think the only way to solve any problems between the two countries is to sit together and talk. [end recording]

The Skopje minister, however, avoided answering a question about the thinking that led his country to adopt the Sun of Vryina as a symbol. Finally, in an interview with a local newspaper today, Italian Foreign Minister Beniamino Andreatta said that he does not worry about Greece's anger with the planned transportation axis north of Greece.

**FRG's Scheffer, Crvenkovski View Embargo***AU0403142194 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in  
Macedonian 3 Mar 94 p 2*

[Report by J. Mironski: "No Justification for the Greek Measures"]

[Text] German Foreign Ministry Minister of State Helmut Scheffer and the Macedonian [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] Foreign Minister Stevo Crvenkovski held a news conference yesterday in which they emphasized their mutual interest in the further development of bilateral relations between the two countries.

Crvenkovski indicated that Scheffer's visit coincided with the embargo imposed by Greece against Macedonia, which was also a subject of the discussions. Minister Scheffer pointed out that he did not arrive in

Macedonia as a mediator between Greece and Macedonia, but as a representative of a government of a member country of the European Union, which wanted to gain an insight into reactions in Macedonia and then transmit these impressions to its own government, and also to the Union.

He said: "My impression is that there is great tranquillity here concerning the development of events, without any demonstrative emotions about the Greek embargo. It is difficult for every state to make concessions under foreign pressures. That is why I consider the Greek measures to be wrong." Minister Scheffer also added: "Nobody in Europe wants the political isolation of Greece; it is part of Europe, but Greece must also admit that it should have agreed with its partners before taking these measures. The decision, which came without warning or reasons, was hard for everyone in Europe to understand."

"Greece must understand that it cannot make unilateral decisions without any reason," he said, and added: "I cannot find a single argument that Macedonia represents a threat for Greece; it is nothing but a fantasy. We cannot allow the borders in Europe to be changed by force. I do not believe that Macedonian integrity will be endangered, because it is impermissible to have another conflict on the territory of former Yugoslavia."

Concerning the Greek embargo and the damage suffered by Macedonia, Scheffer said: "Greece is losing a lot itself. Perhaps not as much as Macedonia, but it is. I do not see any reason why it should harm itself economically and politically. The embargo is a question that will have to be solved by the European Union, and the official German stance is that it has to be lifted immediately." He also emphasized that he would transmit his impressions to the Commissioner for Foreign Affairs of the Union Hans van den Brook, suggesting that negotiations should restart promptly, and he also pointed out that preliminary agreements should be organized.

Foreign Minister Stevo Crvenkovski said that Scheffer's visit was of enormous importance, first of all for bilateral and economic cooperation between the two countries. An agreement was made about an exchange of experts to help companies restart the long cooperation that existed before the war in former Yugoslavia. A larger scientific and cultural cooperation was also subject of the discussions, and soon a German library is expected to open in Macedonia.

### **Bulgaria's President Zhelev Offers Help**

*AU0303175594 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 3 Mar 94*

[Text] Kiro Gligorov, president of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], on 3 March received Bulgarian Deputy Foreign Minister Dimitur Ikonov, who paid a brief working visit to Skopje. Our correspondent in Skopje Kostadin Filipov reports.

[Begin Filipov recording] Dimitur Ikonov conveyed to Mr. Gligorov a message from Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev, which was in response to a letter that the Macedonian head of state sent to Dr. Zhelev a week ago.

In his message to the Macedonian president, Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev expressed Bulgaria's willingness to further develop its friendly and goodneighborly relations with the Republic of Macedonia in all spheres—economy, trade, culture, and so on—on a constructive and principled basis.

Against the background of the complex political situation in this part of the Balkan peninsula, this is an expression of Bulgaria's willingness to help the Republic of Macedonia overcome the difficulties related to the tense relations between Macedonia and Greece.

The specific issues will apparently be specified at a later date by the appropriate organs and institutions of the two neighboring states.

This should by no means be interpreted as Bulgaria relinquishing its principled position of refusing to upset the balance of its relations with all states in the Balkan political space and supporting every step aimed at strengthening regional peace and stability. [end recording]

### **Turkey Agrees to Food Aid, Payment to Fund**

*AU0303212094 Skopje MILS-NEWS in English 3 Mar 94*

[Unattributed report: "Over \$2 Million Aid"]

[Text] Turkey approved of an irretrievable aid for Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] of 10,000 tons of corn. This month, Turkey will also pay the promised \$1 million on the account of the fund for settling the Macedonian debt toward the World Bank. The Macedonian Government delegation, during its yesterday visit to Turkey, reached an agreement for purchasing 30,000 tons of wheat and 20,000 tons of corn. They also agreed to speed up the procedure of getting a \$1.5 million credit from the Eksim Bank.

### **Peterle Hails Croat-Muslim Federation**

*AU0403170294 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 4 Mar 94*

[Excerpt] Foreign Minister Lojze Peterle at today's news conference spoke about some most important events of the last few days and about the meeting of the foreign ministers of the Central European Initiative, which will start in Trieste today. Igor Juric reports:

[Begin Juric recording] Minister Peterle first expressed satisfaction that NATO had accepted the Slovene request for integration into the Partnership for Peace. Slovenia will sign the agreement as the first among the countries that did not have the right to automatic membership in the agreement.

Minister Peterle and Prime Minister Drnovsek are expected to sign a document on cooperation between Slovenia and NATO at NATO Headquarters on 14 or 15 March.

In the continuation of the conference, Minister Peterle hailed the signing of the agreement between the Croats and the Muslims in Washington. He said that he had received a letter from U.S. Secretary of State Christopher yesterday, who thanked our country for assistance in the resolution of the crisis in the Balkans and informed us about the end of the negotiations. Minister Peterle sent a reply to him today.

With the Hungarian ambassador, Lojze Peterle exchanged a ratifying charter on friendly cooperation between the two countries. [passage omitted] [end recording]

### **Russia's Zhirinovskiy Held at Ljubljana Airport**

*LD0703103494 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0943 GMT 7 Mar 94*

[Text] Ljubljana, 7 Mar (TANJUG)—The leader of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia, Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, who, it has been learned, arrived in Slovenia this morning, has been held at Ljubljana's Brnik airport.

Slovene authorities are not allowing Zhirinovskiy to enter the country although the leader of the Russian Liberal Democrats has a valid diplomatic passport of the Russian Federation.

It is not clear whether the Slovene authorities will deny Zhirinovskiy entry, or whether they will let him stay, as is claimed, for a private visit to Slovenia.

### **May Be Deported**

*AU0703102194 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1000 GMT 7 Mar 94*

[Excerpt] Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, leader of the Russian Liberal Democratic Party, arrived from Moscow at Ljubljana airport on an Adria Airways aircraft last night. Together with his three companions, he was forced to

spent the night at the airport as the Slovene immigration officials would not allow him entry.

In light of the experiences of his latest visit, Zhirinovskiy is supposedly persona non grata in our country. Zhirinovskiy lodged a protest with the immigration organs, while the Russian Embassy in Ljubljana has not reacted so far.

The Slovene border officials would not allow members of the press to come in contact with Zhirinovskiy. He is supposed to return to Moscow at 1355 today on a regular flight of the Russian carrier Aeroflot. [passage omitted]

### **Jansa Interviewed About Security, 'Partnership'**

*AU0303175694 Prague RESPEKT in Czech No 9 28 Feb-6 Mar 94 pp 1,10*

[Interview with Slovene Defense Minister Janez Jansa by Teodor Marjanovic in Ljubljana; date not given: "At the Moment, We Are Not Threatened by War"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Marjanovic] You made a statement recently, according to which, at the time before Slovenia became a UN member and therefore did not feel itself bound by resolutions of that organization, arms shipments to Croatia and Bosnia were passing through its territory—with the knowledge of the Slovene bodies.

[Jansa] No. I said that, at the time, Slovenia helped the two assaulted states, not by the permission to transfer weapons through our territory, but rather by providing them with some of the weapons expropriated from the Yugoslav People's Army. That assistance ended long before our country was recognized by the United Nations.

[Marjanovic] Slovenia, as one of the former Yugoslav republics, is still subject to the arms embargo.

[Jansa] The entity on which the embargo was imposed—the former Yugoslavia—no longer exists, and therefore the embargo should not apply to us. There has been no embargo imposed on Slovenia as an independent country. Nevertheless, it has been applied in practice.

[Marjanovic] Does it prevent your entry into the Partnership for Peace project?

[Jansa] We were told that it will not be a hindrance. Precisely, our joining the "Partnership" is a feasible way of leaving the entity on which the embargo was imposed.

[Marjanovic] Nonetheless, Slovene politics have not assumed a consistent stand regarding that project.

[Jansa] According to public opinion surveys, most of the citizens agree with our joining the "Partnership." That is in harmony with the government and most deputies in the parliament. After all, the parliament adopted a special resolution last year stating that the Slovenia's

objective is full membership in the North Atlantic Alliance. There are forces here, however, that oppose it. They do not have a majority, nevertheless they play an important role on the political scale: They are, above all, some of the liberal democrats, currently the strongest Slovene party, and the entire party of the former communists. Even these people understand, however, that a direct opposition runs contrary to public inclinations, and therefore they have been using all kinds of intrigues and frauds to block actual cooperation with the Alliance. Because of one such intrigue, for instance, the cooperation with the U.S. National Guard, which is of a great importance to our army, has been jeopardized. These are the same people who, as early as spring 1991, tried to prevent the formation of the Slovene Army and render Slovene independence impossible. Today, they disagree with spending on the establishment of a defense system that would be comparable with the European one. Therefore, none of our units has a communication system compatible with the Western standards. At the same time, the "Partnership" assumes precisely compatible equipment so that one of the principal intentions could be realized—joint military exercises.

#### Business as Usual

[Marjanovic] What exactly is the objective of the Slovene communists?

[Jansa] The problem is that Slovenia has not passed through such a change as the Czech Republic, for instance. The top echelons of the past regime remained virtually unchanged in Slovenia and continue to operate from the same positions they held then. Hence, they are people who have, for 40 or 50 years, been spreading fear about a West that thirsts for our blood, and today, it is, for them, just a simple extension of business as usual. For them, the North Atlantic alliance has always been a tool of imperialism. Their goal is to keep Slovenia outside the European and world integration, because they have not yet abandoned the idea of joining Slovenia—or at least cooperating—with those countries in which socialism has survived, be it in the territory of the former Yugoslavia or on a wider scale.

[Marjanovic] Does it mean that a substantial number of Slovene politicians endorse the idea of the revival of Yugoslavia?

[Jansa] Yes. It is not based on political ideas, however, but rather on purely economic interests and, last but not least, also on family relations.

[Marjanovic] What about President Kucan?

[Jansa] To a great degree, the president symbolizes this situation: Until recently, he was—the last—chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Slovenia. It is characteristic of the situation that, at one of its last plenums (before the party changed its name), their Central Committee condemned the "politics of

U.S. imperialism." Although they speak differently today, the thinking of those people has simply not changed.

#### We Do Not Control Our Own Airspace

[Marjanovic] Can Slovenia today shop the world markets for arms?

[Jansa] So far, we have not assigned any money for such purchases. Whether anyone would sell us something depends on how he views our country, either as an independent country or as a republic of the former Yugoslavia. From the legal point of view, the countries that recognized us should no longer apply the embargo to us. Nevertheless, it is not just the sale of arms. The world as a whole still refers to the term of "former Yugoslavia," be it in matters regarding the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] or other world undertakings. As soon as that term disappears, the resolution on the embargo will no longer be valid.

[Marjanovic] So, until then, foreign aircraft can fly over Slovenia at an altitude of 6,000 meters and the Slovene anti-aircraft defenses will not act—because of a lack of technical equipment?

[Jansa] It would register them in some regions, but would not be able to take any action against them. In other places, they would not even be registered. We do not even control our air space as a whole today, how could we think of defending it?

[Marjanovic] Upon the recent announcement of the NATO ultimatum regarding the withdrawal of heavy equipment from the proximity of Sarajevo, you said that the alliance did not adopt any security provisions for the surrounding countries. Do you believe that the danger still exists of dragging Slovenia into the Balkan war?

[Jansa] At the moment, such a danger is not likely. It would be different if the conflict again approached our border. Regarding the ultimatum, one cannot but note that it did not think of the possible consequences. If threatened, the Serbian forces could act completely irrationally and endanger the neighboring countries.

[Marjanovic] You do not consider the Slovene-Croatian border dispute dangerous?

[Jansa] This does not concern such great problems that it could become the reason for a military conflict.

#### Muslims Are No Longer Naive

[Marjanovic] What would be the consequences of imposing economic sanctions against Croatia? Do you believe that such a step would be reflected in an even closer cooperation between the Croatian and Serbian forces in Bosnia?

[Jansa] Yes, in the event of anti-Croat sanctions, one could also contemplate the Serbs and the Croats coming closer together. The pressure on Muslims would be only

enhanced. The key issue of Serbo-Croatian relationship would nevertheless remain unsolved—the conquered territory in Croatia.

[Marjanovic] How long, do you believe, can the war continue?

[Jansa] Neither of the so-called warring sides has such supremacy that it could achieve an absolute military victory. Not even the greater cooperation you mentioned, between the Serbs and the Croats, could definitely defeat the Muslims in a short time span. After all, they have also consolidated themselves, and—especially—they are no longer naive. It was precisely their naivete that resulted in such a large number of Muslim casualties. They no longer say that they do not know where the grenades are coming from.

If the world continues to let the war lie fallow, it can all go on for a very long time. The peace potentials necessary for the war to end by itself simply do not exist here. If it all goes on, then, the danger of its spreading to our territory remains. Measures to prevent this were taken in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM]. The deployment of symbolic U.S. units there means a lot for the situation. In the case of Kosovo, however, the world assumed that the region is an administrative part of Serbia.

[Marjanovic] Hence, it will not object to conceivable ethnic purges?

[Jansa] They have taken place there for the past 15 years, and the world had no objections.

### Federal

#### Croats, Muslims Viewed as U.S. 'Pawns'

AU0403215894 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in  
Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 4 Mar 94

[Commentary by Bosko Santic]

[Text] It is not enough to the Americans that they have punished the Muslims and the Croats in the most brutal way possible; they have now even started to mock them. How should one otherwise interpret the words of Warren Christopher that the agreement in the State Department shows how much can be achieved, after bitter years of violence, when two sides sit behind a negotiating table and decide to reach an agreement. By running after the carrot, the leaders of the two peoples deserved to get the stick, which they did, and any sort of submissiveness ultimately deserves to be despised. However, it nevertheless seems that the things have been pushed too far, be it in the demonstration of power and in the manifestation of weakness. The two peoples that have been bleeding and dying did not deserve this, irrespective of their leaders.

It would certainly be better for the Croats to have sanctions imposed against them, and for the Muslims to be told once and for all not to expect a single cent or bullet in aid, than to sign an agreement to live together again. Had the Americans really wanted peace, they would have condemned Granic, Silajdzic, and Zubak to share the same bachelor pad until the end of their lives, and build a China wall between the two peoples.

Parallel to the realization of their political interests, the Americans also love to amuse themselves in the Bosnian arena and that is why they are offering new bloodshed in the name of peace. Just like a chess player after a lost match who is analyzing the positions and wondering where he went wrong, placing the figures on the same positions again, and demanding an impossible victory, the Americans are again trying out an option that has already flopped—a coalition of the Croats and the Muslims. However, it is incomparably more difficult on this occasion as, in the meantime, much blood has been shed and the hatred is enormous.

Forgetting that love cannot be administered or agreed on, as opposed to hatred, which can be instigated, the Americans would now like to mix up the Mostar Croats and Muslims just like chess pieces on the board, exorcising memories, pain, and despair from their heads and souls. Forget everything and love each other, the Americans advise them and those in central Bosnia—the exiled, the displaced, and the mutilated. They should all forget everything. It is not theirs to think and feel, as pawns do not feel. There are no more grenades, but the most dangerous weapon—the door. This is the most poisonous weapon—when, at midnight or at four o'clock in the morning, uniformed people come to the door and beat, tie-up, kill, and chase people away. This weapon is also dangerous for the nervous system and is used only

when people live together. There will be no more of this, love each other, the Americans recommend.

We should not worry. Live people are not pawns. There have been rumors that, even after the signing of the agreement, the clashes will not stop. Because of the fear of doors, the grenade is being used as a weapon.

#### Army Spokesman Views Croat-Muslim Federation

LD0603172294 Belgrade TANJUG in English  
1702 GMT 6 Mar 94

[“Pool” item]

[Text] Budapest, March 6 (TANJUG)—Although agreements conducive to peace should be welcomed, the recently signed agreement on a Croat-Muslim federation in Bosnia-Herzegovina has parts which indicate that what is actually involved is the creation of a military bloc against the Bosnian Serbs, Army of Yugoslavia (V.J.) spokesman, Col. Ljubodrag Stojadinovic warned on Sunday.

Col. Stojadinovic said on a Hungarian radio programme that the Bosnian Serbs had no reason why to join the “inconceivable Croat-Muslim federation,” which the V.J. spokesman said would not last long.

Col. Stojadinovic said that the setting up of the federation would mark a step backwards, that is, a return to how things were when war broke out in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The war broke out in 1992 after the Muslim-Croat coalition took a decision on the forcible secession of Bosnia-Herzegovina from the then Yugoslav Federation against the wishes of the Bosnian Serbs and contrary to the republican Constitution which specified that all vital decisions required the consensus of all three peoples in the republic.

The Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina proclaimed the Serb Republic (R.S.) in 1992 on their historical and ethnic territories.

Col. Stojadinovic said that it was the duty of the V.J. to defend the territory and air space of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and, at the same time, carefully to follow what was taking place in the immediate neighbourhood, particularly where the Serb people lives.

The spokesman said that the V.J. expected the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina to be resolved peacefully, but was ready for the worst, although it felt that the R.S. and neighbouring republic of Serb Krajina (RSK), the Serb state within the administrative boundaries of the former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, could alone defend themselves.

Col. Stojadinovic repeated the official V.J. statement that the four planes downed over Bosnia-Herzegovina early in the week were not part of its air force and that no

V.J. pilots were at the time in the area where NATO fighter-bombers had taken action.

The incident is quite mysterious, since it occurred in an area where the Bosnia Muslims and Croats are engaged in mutual fighting, Col. Stojadinovic said. He said that NATO representatives should provide the answer to the question whose the downed planes were.

Col. Stojadinovic said there would be no danger if the airfield near Tuzla, in north-eastern Bosnia-Herzegovina, was to be used strictly for humanitarian purposes, but specified that there would be a real danger if the airfield was to be opened by force.

The Bosnian Serbs and Russia reached an agreement in the middle of the week for Russian observers to check all deliveries arriving at the Muslim-held airfield near Tuzla.

The Serb side has insisted on the control of the air deliveries out of fear that the airfield could be used for illegal munitions shipments to the Bosnian Muslims.

#### **Army Colonel Says SAS, Green Berets in Bosnia**

*LD0603141394 Belgrade TANJUG in English  
1335 GMT 6 Mar 94*

[Text] Belgrade, March 6 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Army expert for special forces, retired Colonel Stojan Jovic, has told TANJUG that none of the big powers miss an opportunity to test their special units under actual war conditions. He said this in reaction to a recent report that 60 British Special Air Service (SAS) troops were infiltrated into the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

In Jovic's opinion, the SAS troops have been in Bosnia since the beginning of the conflict, some have even been captured in actions, but they posed as mercenaries. Jovic, a commander of the parachute brigade for many years, said on the basis of his long experience, that the operations preceding the disintegration of former Yugoslavia as well as those taking place today in the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina, can be termed special war or a low-intensity conflict.

The special war doctrine originated in the U.S. in the 1960s on the basis of its experience in the local wars in Korea and Vietnam and the conclusion that the next war would not be a global conflict of opposing blocs but an endless series of limited clashes and special operations which would require special units. All the developments in the territory of former Yugoslavia in recent years fully fit in with the special war doctrine, Jovic said.

The generally known special units are the British SAS, the American Green Berets and Rangers, the Russian Spetsnaz and others.

British SAS units continue the tradition of British units from the World War Two and subsequent local wars, and they use their ample experience to perfect their training and operations.

The present U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) commander in Bosnia-Herzegovina, General Michael Rose, used to be an SAS commander and participated in operations in the Falklands. Gen. Rose has been known to Yugoslav experts because he lectured at the Belgrade Military School in 1983.

Other countries were also preparing for operations in Yugoslav territory, Jovic said. For instance, there was a unit within the first battalion of the 10th group of the Green Berets located in Bad Tolz in Germany, which was trained for operations in Yugoslav territory even some 20 years ago. The unit included Yugoslav emigres. There is numerous evidence that the troops of this American special unit are now in Bosnia. Some have been captured, and former UNPROFOR commander for ex-Yugoslavia Philippe Morillon confirmed their presence in Srebrenica.

Jovic said that some operations in Bosnia can come under the heading of "dirty tricks" stipulated in the American special war rules. To illustrate this, he mentioned the alleged shelling of the presidential office in Zagreb, the massacres in Sarajevo's Vase Miskina street and in the Markale market, the fabrication of Serb death camps and massive rapes of Moslem women.

There is no proof for the presence of special units of other countries in the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina, but it is obvious that these countries have taken part in training troops of the breakaway republics, Jovic said, mentioning the training of Slovene territorial defence officers in Germany and special Bosnian Moslem police units in Libya.

The army of the Bosnian Serb republic, the Serb state in Bosnia, also has special sabotage and reconnaissance units, storm troops and anti-terrorist units. Their training and combat experience is evident from the daily reports on routing of enemy sabotage groups in the Bosnian Serb territory, Jovic said.

#### **Montenegro**

##### **Party Reelects Bulatovic, Ends Congress**

*LD0603221294 Belgrade TANJUG in English  
2153 GMT 6 Mar 94*

[Text] Podgorica, Yugoslavia, March 6 (TANJUG)—Montenegro's ruling Democratic Party of Socialists ended its second congress in the capital Podgorica late on Sunday.

The congress re-elected Montenegrin President Momir Bulatovic as president of the party. Closing the two-day gathering of 218 delegates, Bulatovic emphasised the importance of cherishing and promoting the state of

Montenegro which, together with Serbia, forms Yugoslavia, and said that nobody had the right to break these states. It is not in Montenegro's interest to form a state only with Serbia, "our vital interests lie also in the direction of Herzegovina, and we have close historical and economic ties also with the Bosnian Serb republic and the Republic of Serb Krajina (R.S.K.," said Bulatovic.

The R.S.K. was proclaimed in 1991 by the local Serbs in those parts within the arbitrary communist-era borders of Croatia where they are the majority population, in response to Croatia's violent secession from former Yugoslavia and trampling on their rights.

In 1992, local Serbs in the breakaway Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, too, formed the Bosnian Serb republic in their ancestral ethnic lands.

Bulatovic said that Montenegro was supporting and would continue to do so the struggle of the Serb people outside Yugoslavia for freedom, dignity and equality, but added that it would continue to oppose "the extreme nationalism which has grown root under the influence of civil war, radically confronted ideologies and narrow national interests."

He stressed that Moslems in Montenegro must by no means be equated with the militant fundamentalists in the Bosnian Moslem leadership, and that the Albanians who advocate secessionism and violent methods of its achievement were few in the republic.

Bulatovic said that there must be no animosity towards Croats in Montenegro, because "we have never waged war on the Croatian people, but on the proponents of the extremist greater-national ideology" in Croatia.

He said that Montenegro had been the first to "suggest to a wondering Europe the idea of a normalisation of relations among the former Yugoslav republics," and that Montenegro "has no reason for a confrontation with, for instance, Macedonia or Slovenia."

### Kosovo

#### Rugova Endorses NATO Action, Croat-Muslim Pact

AU0503202094 Pristina KOSOVO DAILY REPORT Nr 306 in English 4 Mar 94

[Unattributed report: "Press Conference of President Rugova in Prishtina"—issued by the Democratic League of Kosovo]

[Text] Repression continued this week. Raids, arrests, and ill-treatment in the municipalities of Peja, Gjilan, Suhareka, Prizren, Junik, Klina, Vitia, etc. have been continuing unabated, said President Rugova, speaking at a press conference today in Prishtina. Raids under the pretext of arms searches are usually followed by demolition of property, Dr. Rugova added. "The killing of

Selman Daci in the vicinity of the Macedonia-Kosova border-crossing point is a bad omen," said President Rugova adding that the border with Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], "which is illegal for us," began a toll of its first victim. The week behind us was characterized by heavy movements of Serbian army and their build up in different areas such as in the bordering stripe Gjakova-Prizren, in the vicinity of Kacanik, around Podujeva, Kamaran, and other places, Dr. Rugova said. "Taking into account what happened in Bosnia we consider this as a new threat. We have warned that such Serbian military movements represent further provocation toward the Kosovo people," President Rugova said.

"Following the Serbian takeover of the building of the Kosova's Academy of Arts and Sciences, the building of the Institute of Albanian Studies is threatened with a similar takeover. This is the only and last institution bearing the symbolic relevance for the Albanians," President Rugova told journalists adding that "once again we warn the Serbian regime, the local Serbian-installed authorities in Kosova to seriously think on what they have been doing."

Commenting on the NATO actions in Bosnia, Dr. Rugova hailed the NATO intervention in compliance with the UN Security Council resolution on the non-flying zone over Bosnia. He also hailed the Croat-Muslim agreement signed in Washington hoping for its implementation. "We hail the statement of the U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher who said that all the problems in former Yugoslavia will be solved by the United States in cooperation with the European Union, and Russia. We think that such an approach is very encouraging for Kosova, too," he said.

Asked whether Albania and the international community would intervene in order to stop Serbian violence in Kosova, President Rugova said: "We have been calling for preventive steps toward Kosova. Albania is interested to prevent any conflict. The awareness that if something happens in Kosova would be catastrophe for the entire region is very intense in the international fora. Therefore, everybody is interested to prevent such developments, and I hope that our demand for placing Kosova under a UN protectorate will be accepted."

Asked to comment on the threats of his arrest issued in the Serbian press recently, Dr. Rugova said he had no wish to comment on them. Instead, he commented on the total unwillingness of the Serbian side to accept dialogue with the Albanians, stressing that the Albanian side is open and ready to engage in a serious dialogue over Kosova.

#### Views Serb Actions, Favors Talks

AU0403180094 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 4 Mar 94

[Text] President of the Republic of Kosova Dr. Ibrahim Rugova held a news conference in Prishtina today.

Asked about the Serbian mass media threats to arrest him, Rugova answered: I carry out my job and I am here. For more details, let us follow reporter Sherif Konjufca:

[Konjufca] The raids and arrests of Albanian citizens by the Serbian police are being accompanied with the brutal demolition of houses and the destruction of their properties.

Mr. Rugova said that, during last week, Selman Daci was killed at the Hani i Elezit border point for no reason. The trumped-up trials against Albanians continued in Peje and other cities in Kosova. On the other hand, movements of the Serbian Army have been observed in many areas in Kosova, particularly at the border area with Albania. Police formations are continuing to be stationed in many areas, such as in the factory of [word indistinct] near Kacanik, the Prishtina-Podujeve road, Komoran, and other localities.

After the closure of the academy, the Serbian authorities have decided to close the Albanological Institute, which is an institution that bears a symbol of the national identity of Albanians. Unlike the first closure of the institute in 1957, this time the institute will continue its work just like the other scientific, cultural, and state institutions in Kosova, despite whatever will happen with its building.

Mr. Rugova said that we, once again, warn the Serbian regime and its exponents installed in Kosova of the consequences of all these provocations against the Albanian population in Kosova.

On this occasion, Mr. Rugova greeted NATO's intervention in the Bosnian sky, the Bosnian-Croat agreement, and the statement by U.S. Secretary of State Christopher that all the problems in the former Yugoslavia will be resolved by the United States and Europe without bloodshed. This gives us hope that the problem of Kosova, too, will be solved by placing its territory under UN protection.

Answering a question about the possibility of intervention by an external factor, particularly Albania, in the case of war or a Serbian massacre in Kosova, President Rugova answered: We have worked to avoid conflict in Kosova. However, Albania, which is concerned about the fate of its fellow nationals in Kosova, is also not interested in a conflict. Today, the whole world knows the catastrophic consequences that such a conflict may bring to the whole region.

Regarding a journalist's appeal to comment on the threats of the press and several Serbian party leaders to have him arrested, Mr. Rugova answered briefly: We are all threatened, but I carry out my job and I am here.

Meanwhile, responding to the possibility of Albanian-Serbian dialogue, Mr. Rugova said: We have said that we favor dialogue, but the Serbian side does not give such signs. First, repression should be stopped and an appropriate atmosphere for talks be created. The talks should

be held in the presence of an international mediator. For the moment, the Serbian regime has erected a mental blockade and cannot find courage to do that, Mr. Rugova said at the end of his meeting with reporters.

### Possible Arrest of Rugova Viewed

AU0403185294 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian  
26-27 Feb 94 p 12

[Article by Milos Antic: "Lasso in the Hands of Indecisive Authorities"]

[Text] The question whether Ibrahim Rugova—the president of the so-called republic of Kosovo, the chairman of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo, and the chairman of two coordination committees of Albanian political parties from Kosovo and other territories of the former Yugoslavia—will be arrested is becoming increasingly interesting in Kosovo.

Not so much because the Party of Serbian Unity promised on two occasions that Rugova "would be arrested," or "that the Party of Serbian Unity would find ways and means to bring Rugova to court if the present political leadership of the country did not do so," but because 11 members of his Defense Ministry have already been arrested. Rugova established an army of 40,000 soldiers, armed it, and prepared it for "the liberation of the republic of Kosova."

There have been rumors about his detention since the time when he became chairman of the Albanian movement for the "republic of Kosovo." It is claimed, however, that the Serbian leadership opposed his detention as long as his activity was only verbal. The leadership tolerated his activities as long as he founded ministries of education, health, culture, sports, and such, which were not considered dangerous, but after it became known that he had also established a defense ministry that worked on establishing an army, things changed.

The name Ibrahim Rugova is not mentioned in the indictment against the 11 members of the Defense Ministry. Anton Koljaj, his deputy, who is now on the run, is charged with the establishment of the ministry, but it is stated that it was established according to the instructions of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo.

The attorney general was asked by journalists whether Rugova would also be arrested, and he answered that "the authorities in charge were doing their job, that they were collecting facts and that only those people whom it was proved that they were engaged in illegal activities would be charged." Rugova can still perform his political activities freely, he is still receiving foreign delegations and is going on visits abroad, where he can meet Bujar Bukoshi, the prime minister in exile, and try to achieve recognition of the "republic of Kosovo." He also wants Kosovo to become an international protectorate, as a transitional period for secession from Serbia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Whether Rugova will be arrested depends on the outcome of the trial against the 11 members of the Defense Ministry, which is still not known. Apart from that, everybody knows that the Albanian police exist, but proof has to be found. It would also be enough to arrest Rugova.

There is another aspect of the "Rugova case." It is believed that there is more than enough proof for his detention, but "the present authorities must not do it because of the international community." Rugova has the image of a democrat and a man fighting for his aims with political means, so that his detention would upset the international community and affect the already unfavorable position of Serbia.

Some people even think that the detention of Rugova's assistants and followers who were arrested for arms smuggling has the goal of making Rugova flee abroad, so that the present authorities do not have to arrest him. This would also have an additional effect. The Democratic Alliance of Kosovo would be dissolved, which would weaken the Albanian movement.

The recent detentions of the illegal defense ministry members and the undermining of weapons supplies made it clear that illegal Albanian institutions would be treated more severely. It remains to be seen who has better nerves, the present Serbian leadership in tolerating Rugova's activities, or Rugova, who relies on international support and "indecisive Serbian authorities." When asked several days ago to comment on the announcement of his detention, Rugova answered: "I am here, they may come." This statement was interpreted as a provocation of the Serbian authorities, because Rugova pretended that he wanted to be arrested and tried, since this would make him "a living martyr."

## Vojvodina

### Croats Urged To Continue Struggle for Rights

LD0603231994 Zagreb HTV Television in  
Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 6 Mar 94

[Text] The second election assembly of the Democratic Alliance of Vojvodina Croats [Demokratska Zajednica Vojvodjanskih Hrvata—DZVH] was held in Subotica this afternoon. Bela Tonkovic was reelected the party president with a majority of votes. Zvonimir Nesic from Petrovaradin, and Stanka Kujundzic and Lazo Vojnic-Hajduk from Subotica were elected deputy presidents.

The DZVH will continue its struggle for cultural autonomy through democratic means, and not only for the cultural autonomy of Vojvodina Croats, but also for all members of the Croat people who live in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, it was concluded today at the assembly of Vojvodina Croats. The main objective is to stay and survive in the areas where the Croats have lived for centuries.

With the reelection of Bela Tonkovic as the party president, the DZVH assembly opted for continuity in its work. The DZVH has established itself at home and abroad as the only legitimate representative of the Croat people in Serbia, so sooner or later even Belgrade will have to accept it as a partner in talks, it was said at today's assembly in Subotica.

In his acceptance address, Bela Tonkovic called on all Croats who live between Subotica and Boka Kotorska to unite even more than before in order to join forces in their struggle for human and national rights which belong to them by all international norms.

Other members of the presidency and council of the DZVH were also elected today.